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A SCHOOL CERTIFICATE COURSE

By S. REED BRETT, M.A.
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CONTENTS

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

		PAGE
1.	Results of the Eighteenth Century	1
2.	Summary of the Nineteenth Century	4

HOME AFFAIRS

CHAPTER II
PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

1.	Politics, 1815–1828	6
2.	Wellington's Ministry, 1828–1830	16
3.	Condition of Parliament	21
4.	First Reform Act, 1832	25
5.	Chartist Movement, 1838–1848	29
6.	Later Reform Bills	33

CHAPTER III
SOCIAL REFORMS

1.	Abolition of Slavery	36
2.	Factories and Mines	40
3.	Education	47
4.	Poor Law	51
5.	Politics, 1832–1841	55

CHAPTER IV
FREE TRADE

1.	Adam Smith, 1723–1790	62
2.	William Huskisson, 1770–1830	66
3.	Sir Robert Peel, 1788–1850	71
4.	W. E. Gladstone, 1809–1898	76
5.	Joseph Chamberlain, 1830–1914	79

CHAPTER V
DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE

PAGE

1. BENJAMIN DISRAELI, 1804–1881 84
2. WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, 1809–1898 . . 92

CHAPTER VI
IRELAND, 1800–1923

1. CONDITIONS, EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY . . 103
2. DANIEL O'CONNELL 106
3. FAMINE 1845, AND ITS RESULTS 107
4. GLADSTONE'S POLICY 111
5. TWENTIETH-CENTURY IRELAND 121

CHAPTER VII
TRADE-UNIONS

1. COMBINATION ACTS, 1800–1825 126
2. ROBERT OWEN, 1771–1858 130
3. TRADE-UNIONS LEGALIZED 133
4. RISE OF THE LABOUR PARTY 138

CHAPTER VIII
LOCAL GOVERNMENT

1. MUNICIPAL CORPORATION ACT, 1835 . . . 141
2. LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACTS, 1888 AND 1894 . . 144
3. TWENTIETH-CENTURY LEGISLATION . . . 146

CHAPTER IX
TWENTIETH-CENTURY DOMESTIC POLITICS

1. CHARACTER OF THE PERIOD 150
2. SOCIAL LEGISLATION 153
3. CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS, 1909–1911 . . . 157
4. WAR-TIME MINISTRIES 162

CHAPTER X
REVIEW OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY THOUGHT

1. LITERATURE AND ART 167
2. THE OXFORD MOVEMENT 172
3. SCIENTIFIC INVENTIONS 176

IMPERIAL AFFAIRS

CHAPTER XI
INDIA

		PAGE
1.	CONDITIONS IN INDIA	182
2.	FOUR GOVERNORS-GENERAL	185
3.	THE MUTINY, 1857	193
4.	AFTER THE MUTINY	199

CHAPTER XII
CANADA

1.	THE "SECOND BRITISH EMPIRE"	206
2.	EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CANADA	210
3.	LORD DURHAM	212
4.	FEDERATION	216

CHAPTER XIII
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

1.	EXPLORATION AND EARLY SETTLEMENT	221
2.	DEVELOPMENT OF AUSTRALIA	225
3.	NEW ZEALAND	233

CHAPTER XIV
SOUTH AFRICA

1.	EARLY HISTORY	237
2.	BRITAIN AND THE BOER REPUBLICS	242
3.	SECOND BOER WAR, 1899–1902	247
4.	BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA, 1902–1920	256
5.	THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH	258

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CHAPTER XV
EUROPE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1.	THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA	261
2.	FRANCE AND GERMANY, 1815–1870	266
3.	CASTLEREAGH AND CANNING	271
4.	PALMERSTON, 1784–1865	275

CHAPTER XVI
THE EASTERN QUESTION

		PAGE
1.	MEANING OF "THE EASTERN QUESTION"	280
2.	WAR OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE, 1821–1829	283
3.	MEHEMET ALI	286
4.	CRIMEAN WAR, 1854–1856	288
5.	THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN, 1878	298

CHAPTER XVII
ITALY; UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; CHINA

1.	UNIFICATION OF ITALY	302
2.	AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, 1861–1865	306
3.	BRITAIN AND CHINA	312

CHAPTER XVIII
THE PARTITION OF AFRICA

1.	THE OPENING-UP OF AFRICA	319
2.	EGYPT, 1863–1882	324
3.	THE SOUDAN, 1883–1898	327

CHAPTER XIX
THE GREAT WAR, 1914–1918

1.	EVENTS LEADING TO WAR	334
2.	1914: OPENING EVENTS	346
3.	1915: EASTERN FRONTS	349
4.	1916: VERDUN AND THE SOMME	354
5.	NAVAL AND COLONIAL WARFARE	355
6.	1917: RUSSIA, AND THE HINDENBURG LINE	359
7.	1918: THE CLOSING STAGES	362

CHAPTER XX
THE PEACE TREATIES, AND AFTER

1.	PROBLEMS OF THE PEACE	365
2.	THE TREATIES	368
3.	LEAGUE OF NATIONS	375
4.	EUROPE, 1919–1936	378
5.	GREAT BRITAIN, 1919–1936	390
6.	BRITISH EMPIRE, 1919–1936	396

LIST OF MAPS

INDIA, 1805 183
INDIA, 1858 194
SOUTH AFRICA 248
EUROPE, 1815 262
RACE MAP OF SOUTH-EAST EUROPE 282
THE CRIMEAN WAR 289
NILE VALLEY 325
EUROPE, 1914 335
THE WESTERN FRONT, 1914–1918 346
THE WAR IN THE EAST 349
EUROPE, 1923 369

GENEALOGICAL TABLE

DESCENDANTS OF GEORGE I 7

TIME CHARTS

1800–1832 . . . . . } *(end of book)*
1832–1867 . . . . . }
1867–1895 . . . . . }
1895–1921 . . . . . }
1922–1935 . . . . . }

PREFACE

THIS volume, like the others of the series of which it forms a part, is designed primarily as a text-book for candidates for the First School Examination. The particular form of the subject-matter is the direct outcome of the author's preparation of such candidates during a number of years. In this connection three features of the book call for notice.

First, though the general order is necessarily chronological, a topical treatment has been adopted wherever this seemed advisable; for the sake of clearness in dealing with the complicated material of nineteenth and twentieth century history, the topical method has been applied more thoroughly in this volume than in the earlier ones, but cross-references have been frequently used to enable the pupil to preserve a proper time-sense. Second, relatively only a few subjects have been dealt with somewhat lengthily rather than a large number cursorily. Third, notes or chapter-summaries have purposely been omitted, because the aim of the writer is not to save pupils the trouble of thinking but to put into their hands a book so arranged that they can use it for themselves: hence the subject-divisions within each chapter have been carefully selected and the headings collected in the contents list.

As far as the scope of the book allows, the social and religious as well as the political aspects of national life have received attention, and emphasis has been laid not merely upon facts but upon the meaning of facts by

showing how particular events were related to one another and to the general features of the period. In the third section of the volume, diversions have been made to explain the main lines of contemporary European history, because only thus can British foreign policy be understood. Military events have never been included for their own sake: their details are given only when essential to a grasp of national policy. No apology should be necessary for the slightly disproportionate space devoted to the War of 1914–1918 and to the world-settlement which followed: the effect of these events upon the daily lives of the generation of pupils for whom the book is intended seems ample justification for a somewhat lengthy treatment.

Further aids to study are the Time Charts at the end of the volume and the maps. The latter—for the preparation of which the author is indebted, as in his *Europe Since the Renaissance*, to the enthusiastic co-operation of his colleague, Mr. D. R. Hill—are intended to illustrate boldly the main geographical features of the subject-matter, and every detail irrelevant to that purpose has been omitted. The necessity for the regular study of a good historical atlas along with the text-book can hardly be exaggerated.

The author hopes that these features will be conducive to an intelligent grasp of the subject and to successful examination-preparation—two subjects which may be less widely separated than we are apt sometimes to suppose.

S. R. B.

NUNEATON,
September 1933.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. RESULTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THREE main features had marked the history of England during the century-and-a-quarter preceding Waterloo, namely, the development of Cabinet Government, the Industrial Revolution, and a series of seven great wars. All three of these features had far-reaching results upon national life after 1815; and we shall do well, before beginning a more detailed study of the century, to try to understand what those results were.

Cabinet Government.

The "Glorious Revolution" of 1688 had brought to an end the would-be absolutism of the Stuarts. Henceforward, though the King had much political power, he exercised it through his Ministers. As the eighteenth century advanced, a corporate sense grew up among the ministers, the effect being the gradual formation of a Cabinet and of the Cabinet System of government. The members of the Cabinet belonged normally to one party only and were dependent upon securing and maintaining a majority in the House of Commons. This did not mean what it means at the present day because, generally speaking, only landowners had the right to vote. The number of voters in any constituency was therefore very small, sometimes not more than about a dozen and never

approaching the large number in a modern constituency. As a result, the party managers found no great difficulty in bribing enough voters to turn the scale of an election. Such means determined the composition of the House of Commons, the members of which were consequently attached in groups to certain of the aristocratic families who had come to be regarded as the party leaders. In short, the personal rule of the monarchy had been supplanted by the rule of the great landowning houses.

Industrial Revolution.

These political conditions received their first severe shock as a result of the Industrial Revolution. This is the name given to the process, which developed rapidly about the middle of the eighteenth century, whereby machine-labour in factories took the place of hand-labour in the homes and whereby large-scale agriculture on scientific lines replaced an almost medieval system of tillage of scattered strips. An emphasis, new in England, was thus placed upon industry and commerce which began to supplant agriculture as the staple industry of the nation. The franchise, however, was still mainly the privilege of landowners, so that industry and commerce, notwithstanding their new importance, had no voice in the management of the State and no means of securing recognition of their needs and rights.

Nor was this the only political reaction of the Industrial Revolution. The factory-system produced bad conditions for the workers—unhealthy factories, long hours, low wages—but also, by massing the workers together, it facilitated their organization for removing their grievances. The result was political agitation of a kind previously impossible. To the agitation of the workers was added that of the thousands of desperate men whom the new machines had thrown out of employment altogether. Yet these distressed classes had no constitutional means of obtaining the redress of their grievances: the Combination Acts of

1799 and 1800 forbade workers to combine to improve their conditions by collective bargaining with employers, nor had the workers votes which would have enabled them to obtain improvement by Act-of Parliament. Their only alternative was force, and riots became common. Sometimes the rioters broke machinery, which they blamed for their unemployment, and sometimes they demanded an extension of the franchise and a redistribution of parliamentary seats so that the new towns of the north and midlands might have direct representation.

Wars.

The widespread distress was intensified by the War. The Battle of Waterloo brought to a close a period during which, notwithstanding developments at home, the energies and resources of the English nation had been concentrated upon foreign wars. One hundred and twenty-six years had elapsed since the outbreak of the War of English Succession, and of those years one half had been occupied with large-scale struggles against pre-Revolutionary France in Europe, Canada and India, against the English colonists in North America, and against the French Revolutionists and Napoleon throughout the globe. Even the so-called " peace years " of that century-and-a-quarter were occupied either in recovery from a previous war or in preparation for the next one. In all seven of the wars which had taken place since 1689, England's consistent enemy had been France, and, in the circumstances of those days, there could be no peace until either England or France was thoroughly defeated. That was the primary issue settled at Waterloo. But the direct results of the War did not end immediately peace was signed. The high taxation necessary to maintain the struggle had made the poor still poorer ; unemployment was further increased when the bulk of the army was demobilized ; and, as if these were not enough, the lot of the depressed classes was made harder by the artificial raising of the price of

corn through the 1815 Corn Laws.[1] These Laws, passed in the interests of the landowners, who held the predominant power in Parliament, forbade the import of foreign corn into England until the price of English corn reached eighty shillings a quarter. The result was that the price of corn kept extremely high so that masses of the population were reduced to a condition of starvation.

2. SUMMARY OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

This sketch of conditions in 1815 provides the clue to the trend of events of the following century.

Domestic Politics.

The popular agitation culminated in the Reform Act of 1832, which in turn opened the way to still further legislation in two main directions. First, because the 1832 Act added only a limited number of new voters, there were continued demands for a still wider franchise resulting in a series of Reform Acts of 1867, 1884, 1918 and 1928. Second, Parliament was thus brought into closer touch than ever before not only with one class but with all classes of the nation, and hence were large measures of social reforms exemplified by Factory, Education, Housing and Trade-Union legislation.

Imperial Affairs.

During the nineteenth century also there was a wide extension of English interests overseas. The eighteenth-century wars established England as definitely the mistress of the sea and left her in possession of large areas in Canada, India, and South Africa. On the basis of these territories, and with the security assured by naval supremacy, the British Empire as we now know it steadily developed until England, no longer merely an isolated island-state, had become the centre of a world-federation

[1] Chapter IV, Section 2.

and so was held in greater respect than ever before in the councils of the nations.

Foreign Relationships.

This leads to mention of another aspect of nineteenth-century history. In 1814 a great European Congress met at Vienna to re-settle the Continent after the Napoleonic upheaval. The agreements then reached were the foundation of European relations during the next hundred years. In one sense they were a success, for between 1815 and the Crimean War of 1854 there was no great European war. In another sense the Vienna agreements were disastrous: nearly every item of them produced discontent which either expressed itself in national risings or led to European wars later in the century, finally bursting into the conflagration of 1914 in which Britain was so intimately involved.

In studying British history of the nineteenth century we shall adopt the order which our survey has suggested, dealing first with domestic politics, then with Imperial affairs and lastly with foreign relationships. By this means, though a little violence may be done to the time-sequence of the story, we shall be following its logical sequence and so shall be in the best position to understand and to remember its details.

CHAPTER II

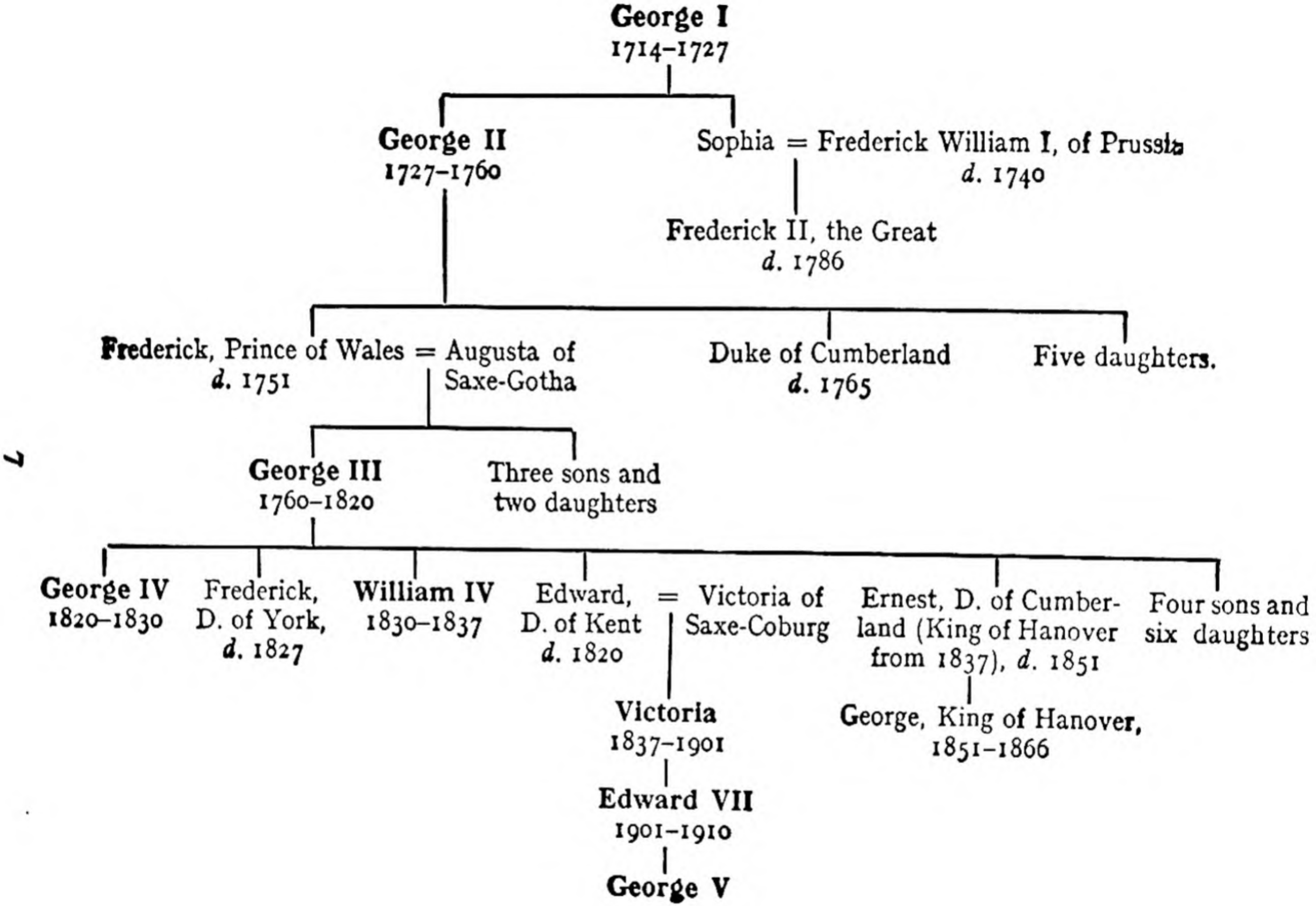
PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

1. POLITICS, 1815–1828

The Regency.

GEORGE III had been King since 1760. From the early part of his reign he had been subject to bouts of insanity, and for several years had been permanently insane, blind and deaf—a pitiable object both as a man and as a monarch. It is strange to reflect that though he was nominally king for five years after Waterloo he never heard of the Battle or of the stirring events that preceded and followed it. Since 1811 his son George, Prince of Wales, had acted as Prince Regent and, under the authority of a Regency Act, had performed the necessary functions of kingship.

The Prince's personal character was an unenviable one. He has been comprehensively and aptly described as "a bad son, a bad husband, a bad father, a bad monarch, and a bad friend". Though noted for the most polished manners in the kingdom, he lived a wild, profligate, depraved existence, was false in his personal relationships and cared nothing for the welfare of the nation. Previous to his Regency, the Prince had been true to the Hanoverian tradition that the heir to the throne should support the opposite political party to that favoured by the King; that is, because George III was a Tory, the Prince had


George I
1714–1727
George II
1727–1760
Sophia = Frederick William I, of Prussia
d. 1740
Frederick II, the Great
d. 1786
Frederick, Prince of Wales = Augusta of Saxe-Gotha
d. 1751
Duke of Cumberland
d. 1765
Five daughters.
George III
1760–1820
Three sons and two daughters
George IV
1820–1830
Frederick, D. of York, d. 1827
William IV
1830–1837
Edward, D. of Kent
d. 1820
= Victoria of Saxe-Coburg
Ernest, D. of Cumberland (King of Hanover from 1837), d. 1851
Four sons and six daughters
Victoria
1837–1901
George, King of Hanover,
1851–1866
Edward VII
1901–1910
George V

been a Whig. But the Whigs were becoming the party of reform, and the Regent, when once he had assumed governmental responsibility, soon decided that their programme was no more attractive to him than to George III. Hence, though the Whigs had long advocated the appointment of Prince George as Regent, in the hope that this would be the prelude to the fall of the Tories, they were doomed to disappointment. Even the death of George III and the accession of George IV in 1820 caused no political difference in the State. The Tories still remained in office.

Ministers.

The Prime Minister was *Lord Liverpool*, who had held the office since 1812. His Ministry had been responsible for the English efforts in the closing stages of the Napoleonic War and for negotiating the terms of peace. Liverpool himself was not a great statesman, but was dignified, reasonably capable, and the kind of man who could lead others and whom others could follow.

Lord Castlereagh was the outstanding personage in the Cabinet. To him, as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, more than to any other man, England owed the successful conclusion of the War. At Vienna he had stood for a Treaty that would ensure a lasting peace by granting just terms to France, and afterwards he refused to implicate England in European Alliances.[1] Castlereagh's popularity was impaired by his cold demeanour and by his inability to deliver anything resembling a public speech ; but as a diplomatist he won, both for himself and for his country, a high regard abroad.

Two other members of the Liverpool administration deserve mention, namely, Lords *Eldon* and *Sidmouth*. The former was Lord Chancellor and one of the most distinguished lawyers that England has produced. Sidmouth is perhaps better known by his surname of Addington. He

[1] Chapter XV, Section 3.

had succeeded the Younger Pitt when the latter had resigned the Premiership early in 1801, but, being a man of no conspicuous abilities, he was unequal to leading the country against Napoleon, and in 1804 he was followed in power by Pitt. In Liverpool's Cabinet, Sidmouth held the office of Home Secretary and so had the unenviable duty of dealing with the reform agitation to which reference was made in the previous chapter and to which the attitude of the Ministers, as traditional Tories, was one of mere repression.

Radicals.

But the Tories were not dealing with merely factious or sporadic malcontents. The depression was widespread, and the depressed sections of the community were united, if not by close organization, by the hardly less powerful example of the French Revolution and by the inspiration of popular orators. The latter realized, almost unanimously, that no improvement in the lot of the masses was to be expected until the franchise had been widened; and their consequent advocacy of a "radical" reform of the whole representative system led to their being known as "Radicals". Three members of the group call for mention.

Henry Hunt (1773–1835) was a man with all the characteristics of a mob orator, and was appropriately known as "Orator" Hunt. This fiery—and often frothy—demagogue stumped the country addressing mass-meetings of farm-labourers and factory-workers whose ignorance and hardships made them peculiarly susceptible to Hunt's eloquence. His influence, during the years immediately following Waterloo in stirring up the masses to demand reform, was certainly very great.

Of quite a different type was *Francis Place* (1771–1854) who in character and in methods formed as sharp a contrast to Hunt as could well be imagined. Place was a master-tailor with a flourishing business in London. His

contribution to Radicalism was that of logical thinking, immovable will, and a consummate gift for political organizing. He is remembered best for the scheme which in 1824 succeeded in repealing the 1800 Combination Acts[1]; but Place's shop had long been the headquarters of Radicalism.

The most influential of all the Radical leaders was *William Cobbett* (1762–1835). Born into the extreme poverty of a small farmer's home, Cobbett raised himself, partly through his innate gifts and partly through unquenchable perseverance, to be the champion of the class to which he belonged. After a wandering life as a soldier and an attempt to charge his officers with peculation he fled to France in 1792—so becoming infected with fervour for the Revolution—and thence to America. After returning to England he took to journalism, in which craft he was soon to display a notable "flair". In 1802 the first number of his *Political Register* appeared. From then until his death in 1835 the paper, published every week, continued to be the champion of the masses against their oppressors of every kind, political and economic. The *Register* had an immense circulation and the labourers, though many of them could not read it or afford to buy it, joined together to buy copies and to hear them read by one of their more "educated" fellows. Unlike most of the Radicals, Cobbett had no confidence in Parliamentary reforms as a remedy for bad conditions of life; indeed he never became a democrat in the modern sense. Moreover, he strongly deprecated mob demonstrations and violence. He believed that economic reforms alone could bring economic relief, and his persistent desire was that the nation should revert to the mode of living which prevailed before the Industrial Revolution had blighted the countryside of his youth and had produced the terrible factory-life which he detested. He therefore advocated a "back-to-the-land" movement. In this advocacy Cobbett

[1] Chapter VII, Section 1.

ignored the obvious fact that the clock could not be put back; and his claims tended therefore to be unreal and even fantastic. Nevertheless, the *Register* had a profound influence in moving the public conscience and in moulding public opinion.

The theory behind most of the propaganda of the Radicals was that provided by *Jeremy Bentham* (1748–1832) who, though not himself to be classed as a Radical, may therefore be mentioned in this connection. Bentham desired to make every institution submit to the test of usefulness. The question which he continuously asked was: "What use is it?", and his theory is accordingly known as "Utilitarianism". The Radicals, asking this question of the Parliament of their day, had no difficulty in making out a case for its reform.

Riots.

The general result of the agitation and literature of such leaders as Hunt, Place and Cobbett was that demands for economic and for political reform became allied together; or, to say the same thing in another way, the claim for changes in the representative system had behind it the driving force of economic distress. The only reply of the Government was an unyielding negative. Consequently, as the poverty-stricken masses would not for ever endure their distress without complaint, and as they had no constitutional means of calling attention to their plight, their only alternative was riots. The period between 1815 and 1830 was therefore one of widespread disorder.

The first violence was directed against the new machines. This was not a new movement. During some years before 1815 there had been a series of "Luddite Riots"—so called after a half-wit associated with the outbreak of an early machine-breaking riot—in Leicestershire, Yorkshire and Lancashire. In 1816 the disorder was renewed and accompanied by rick-burnings in East Anglia.

In December 1816 the *Spa Fields Riots* occurred in

London. A large mob assembled at Spa Fields in Bermondsey and, after listening to inflammatory speeches, moved off in the direction of the City apparently with the vague intention of seizing the Bank and the Tower. A gunsmith's shop was ransacked on the way; but lack of organization on the part of the rioters, and a determined opposition on that of the Lord Mayor, caused the rising to fade out. A Derbyshire insurrection in June 1817 was similarly quelled.

The Government can hardly be blamed if it became alarmed. The comparison between the Spa Fields affair and the events culminating in the French Revolution was too close to be misunderstood. Unfortunately, Liverpool's Ministry still made no effort to deal with the root of the trouble but resorted to the simpler expedient of mere repression. In pursuing this policy the Government found itself seriously hampered: juries, knowing the heavy punishments that would be inflicted upon any man found guilty of insurrection, often refused to convict prisoners, notwithstanding clear evidence and explicit directions by the judge. In March 1817, therefore, the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended so that a suspected person could be kept in prison for an indefinite period without trial.

In August 1819 a huge demonstration was held in *St. Peter's Fields*, Manchester, to demand universal suffrage. Processions from all parts of the city concentrated upon the Fields, and there the concourse was addressed by "Orator" Hunt. A body of yeomanry was despatched by the magistrates to arrest Hunt. To force its way through the crowd—though the latter was quite peaceful and unarmed—was not easy, and some jostling inevitably accompanied the movement. The nervous magistrates, misunderstanding the position, ordered a detachment of regular cavalry—placed at their disposal in case of emergency—to advance and "rescue" the yeomanry. The result was disastrous: the cavalry charged, and within a few minutes nothing remained on the square except several dead bodies and

two hundred or three hundred wounded people. Hunt and others were arrested and sentenced to terms of imprisonment. In the circumstances, the magistrates' panic may have been understandable: but nothing can excuse the congratulations which the Government and the Prince Regent lavished upon the soldiers. The "action" at St. Peter's Fields, in contrast to the recently glorious one at Waterloo, was derisively termed by the nation "Peterloo".

The Government's reply was more repression, and in December 1819 the famous *Six Acts* were passed through Parliament. These may be summarized as intended to prevent (1) delay in the administration of justice, (2) the drilling of civilians, (3) seditious libels, (4) the use of firearms in certain areas, (5) seditious meetings, and (6) unrestrained publications by the Press.

The only intentionally murderous scheme of this period of agitation was the *Cato St. Conspiracy* of February 1820. The plot, headed by a man named Thistlewood, was nothing less than to assassinate the whole Cabinet during a dinner-party. As usual, one of the conspirators informed the Government who, with all the information in its hands, waited until the appointed day and then seized the gang in its lair in Cato Street. The ringleaders were executed and others were sentenced to transportation.

The Government Reconstructed, 1822.

Repression of disorder was not the same thing as extinction of distress, and just how long the disorders might have continued and what their final outcome might have been, had not a change occurred in the Government, cannot be predicted with certainty. Fortunately for the country, in 1822 the Government was leavened by the introduction of a group of new men. The incident which led to this change was an indecorous royal quarrel.

In 1820 the Prince Regent became King George IV. Several years previously he had quarrelled with his wife, the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, and she had since

lived abroad. When her husband ascended the throne, Caroline returned to England to what she considered to be her rightful position as Queen. In order to counteract this move, the King induced the Ministry to introduce a "Bill of Pains and Penalties" which would have annulled her marriage and withdrawn her title. The Queen's own life was by no means free from scandal, but the bulk of the nation, prompted by a sense of fair-play, resented this undignified attack and regarded her as an injured person. The Opposition, championing her cause, brought down the Government's majority on the Bill so low that the measure was withdrawn. The immediate cause of the friction was removed next year by the death of Queen Caroline, but the affair had permanently injured the prestige of the Ministry. In 1820 Canning had resigned as a protest against the attack on the Queen, and in 1822 Sidmouth also resigned on account of the unpopularity which the attack had brought upon him. During the same year Castlereagh, whose mind suddenly collapsed under the stress of political work and anxiety, committed suicide. The way was thus left open for fresh blood to be introduced into the Cabinet. Canning became Foreign Secretary, Peel Home Secretary, and in 1823 room was made for Huskisson as President of the Board of Trade. Liverpool still remained Prime Minister, and the Cabinet was still Tory: but the new Ministers, not belonging to the old high-and-dry Tory type, introduced a "liberalizing" element which expressed itself in measures to which the former Cabinet would never have consented.

The reconstructed Ministry therefore had a busy, though brief, life. Huskisson was responsible for a modification of the Customs system and (against his will) for the repeal of the Combination Acts which made Trade-Unions illegal —measures which we shall review later in connection with the subjects of Free Trade and Trade-Unions—and Peel secured the reform of the Criminal Code.

Criminal Code Reforms.

This last reform was long overdue. The existing system of punishments for crime was a huge absurdity. For more than two hundred offences the punishment was death, and many others were punishable by transportation or long terms of imprisonment with hard labour. The game laws were especially severe: any man convicted of poaching was liable to death. Such a system had ludicrous, though terrible, results. Heavy penalties for slight offences blunted men's understanding of the distinction between serious and trivial crimes. Juries, knowing that a man convicted of a slight offence was liable to heavy punishment, refused to declare him guilty; and even the judges commonly reprieved persons who had been found guilty in their courts. Hence, while those who had committed small crimes had to undergo their punishment, those guilty of grave offences were frequently set free. In another direction also the Criminal Code acted as an incentive to serious crime: since robbery with violence was punishable with death, the robber, in order to silence a witness against himself, naturally killed his victim outright before robbing him. The lack of organization for the detection of crime was as serious as the chaotic condition of the law. No police system existed. The only official detectors of crime were paid spies—a hateful and entirely un-English method—and "Bow Street runners", who were untrained and generally ignorant men.

In 1819 a Committee had examined the operation of the Criminal Code and other matters and had recommended sweeping changes, and in 1823 Peel began his attack on the vicious system which he gradually overhauled. Over one hundred offences ceased to be punishable by death; the whole series of punishments was scaled down; the condition of the gaols was greatly improved; legal procedure was reformed; and the spy system was abolished. The gloomy prognostications of critics who declared that

the " softening " of the law would encourage crime were happily falsified. Serious crime steadily declined—a result, incidentally, which has followed every subsequent criminal law reform.

2. WELLINGTON'S MINISTRY, 1828–1830

Early in 1827 Lord Liverpool became too ill to continue as Premier and was succeeded in office by Canning, but in August of the same year Canning died. A short stop-gap Ministry was followed in 1828 by another Tory Ministry with the Duke of Wellington as Prime Minister and Peel as Home Secretary and leader of the House of Commons.

Metropolitan Police, 1829.

Peel was once again to the fore with urgent reform. In 1829 he organized for London the first body of police in the history of Britain. These were the Metropolitan Police, who were to be efficiently trained and adequately paid but, most important of all, were to be a civilian and not a military force. All over the country local authorities imitated Peel's organization—the members of which were nicknamed, after their founder, as " Peelers " or " Bobbies " —and established similar police forces of their own. From this time onwards, not only were individual criminals more effectively dealt with but disorder was quelled by civilians instead of by the military, thereby avoiding the bitterness of a clash with the soldiers. Herein lies much of the explanation that the riots preceding the first Reform Bill did not develop into revolution.

Test Acts Repealed, 1828.

It was the break-up of Wellington's Ministry over the question of Roman Catholic Emancipation in 1830 which paved the way for a Whig Ministry and hence for parliamentary reform. The temper of the House of Commons on the religious issue was shown in some measure when in 1828 the Whig Lord John Russell introduced a motion

to repeal the Test and Corporation Acts. These Acts, dating from the reign of Charles II, demanded that candidates for State and Municipal offices should take the Sacrament according to the rites of the Prayer Book. In practice the Acts had long been a dead letter, so far as Protestant Dissenters were concerned, and since 1727 an Indemnity Act had been passed every year to exonerate such Protestant Dissenters as had infringed them. Russell's aim was to make the Indemnity Acts unnecessary. The Ministers resisted the motion, but when it was passed by the Commons they bowed to the inevitable, and the Test and Corporation Acts ceased to apply to Protestant Dissenters who henceforward were simply to be required to undertake not to "injure or subvert the Protestant Established Church".

Roman Catholic Emancipation.

The most critical question which Wellington's Ministry had to face was that of Roman Catholic Emancipation in Ireland. The story of religious agitation in Ireland will be related in greater detail when we deal with the history of that country as a whole.[1] At this point we are concerned only with the immediate reaction of Irish affairs upon English politics. During the eighteenth century Roman Catholics in Ireland, though comprising something like four-fifths of the whole population, suffered severe political and economic disabilities. Towards the end of the century, most of these had been removed, and in 1782 the parliamentary franchise had been granted to Roman Catholics on the same terms as to Protestants, though still only Protestants could be elected as Members. The example of the French Revolution, beginning in 1789, caused renewed agitation in Ireland and finally revolution in 1798. To prevent the repetition of such an outburst, Pitt decided to abolish the Irish Parliament and to govern Ireland directly from England, a number of Irish Members

[1] Chapter VI, Section 1.

being sent henceforward to the Westminster Parliament just as Scottish Members were already being sent. Thus was accomplished the Irish Act of Union of 1800. Its purpose of restoring order to Ireland was defeated at the outset. One of the bribes which induced the Dublin Parliament to agree to its own abolition was the tacit promise that Union would be followed by Emancipation, that is, that Roman Catholics would be eligible for election to Parliament; but George III refused to allow such a measure, and Pitt, feeling his pledged word to the Irish people to be at stake, resigned office.

The Clare Election, 1828.

From that point, therefore, the efforts of Irish Roman Catholics were directed towards the repeal of the Act of Union, a movement known later as Home Rule for Ireland. But before the Roman Catholics could hope to carry repeal in the House of Commons, they would need to secure the return of a body of Roman Catholic Members. Hence, as a preliminary to the abolition of Union, an agitation began for complete Emancipation. The leader of the agitation was Daniel O'Connell whose powers of oratory made him a mighty force. Throughout Ireland he conducted a campaign of great mass meetings held, for the most part, in the open air.

The climax was reached in 1828 when, a by-election having arisen in County Clare, O'Connell was elected to Parliament. As a Roman Catholic he would be unable conscientiously to take the oath of allegiance and so would be prevented from taking his seat. In anticipation of this event, the Irish nation was becoming worked up to a pitch of high excitement, and there could be no doubt that if O'Connell was excluded from Parliament, Ireland would break out into open revolt. Yet the Tory party was strongly opposed to Emancipation—Wellington and Peel most strongly of all—and a deadlock seemed inevitable. The situation was saved by the fact that Wellington con-

ducted his politics in the same spirit as he had led his armies: the King's Government, like a campaign, must somehow be carried on, and, while that was at all possible and while he retained the King's confidence, he saw no reason for resigning office any more than of resigning military command just because he had been compelled to retire from some position on the field. Wellington, therefore, when faced with the choice between what would certainly be a sanguinary Irish civil war and Roman Catholic Emancipation, preferred the latter alternative. Peel, still strenuously opposed to the project, at last yielded to the appeals and persuasion of his chief and undertook to lead the measure through the Commons.

A large proportion of the Tory party defied their leaders and fought the Bill; but the respect felt for the Duke of Wellington retained enough Tory support, when added to the Whig vote, to carry the Catholic Relief Bill into law in April 1829. The Act allowed a Roman Catholic to occupy any office of State except that of Sovereign or Lord Chancellor or Viceroy of Ireland, and it contained a clause similar to that which already applied to Protestant Dissenters, namely, that Roman Catholics entering Parliament must undertake not to "subvert the established Church of England".

Results of Emancipation.

Unfortunately, the Government wrecked any possibility that Emancipation might have had of restoring peace and contentment to Ireland. Another Act, passed at the same time, raised the franchise qualification in Ireland: hitherto householders paying a minimum of forty shillings in rent had votes; henceforward the minimum qualification was to be ten pounds. This measure disfranchised at least four-fifths of the former voters, including the peasants, who formed the mass of the people. The result was that the Irish felt themselves duped, and the friction between the two countries was accentuated rather than diminished.

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Another—and immediate—effect of the granting of Roman Catholic Emancipation was its reaction upon English politics. The Act, we have said, was carried by a section of the Tories plus the Whigs. The breach thus caused in the Tory party did not heal after the passage of the measure but grew wider and wider and more intense. Wellington had forfeited the confidence of, and therefore had split, his party. Hence the Whigs, being a strongly united party, would have a great advantage when the first opportunity presented itself to them to challenge their opponents. That opportunity was not long delayed.

In the meantime we may note that during the nineteenth century there were three occasions when English political parties were split and that on each occasion the cause, direct or indirect, was Ireland. The first was the 1829 split in the Tory party owing to Wellington's granting Roman Catholic Emancipation. The second was the 1846 split in the Tory party when, after the Irish potato famine of the previous year, Peel repealed the Corn Laws.[1] The third was the 1886 split in the Liberal party which refused to support Gladstone's attempt to carry a Home Rule Bill for Ireland.[2]

Whigs in Power, 1830.

The extent of the 1829 rift was revealed in the following year. In June 1830 George IV .died and was succeeded by his brother, the Duke of Clarence, as William IV. The latter was a sailor, and his bluff and hearty manner won for him a measure of popularity which was further increased by the nation's sense of relief at being rid of the infamous George IV. William was, indeed, a most unkingly man, tactless in his dealings both private and public, and without any pretence at dignity. The nickname of "Silly Billy" which he soon acquired was well deserved. The succession to the throne of such a person at such a critical juncture in national history threatened both the nation

[1] Chapter IV, Section 3. [2] Chapter VI, Section 4.

and the monarchy with grave peril. The one good aspect of the situation was that the complacent attitude of the new monarch was likely to be less mischievous than that of a perversely partisan ruler would have been.

The custom of the day demanded that a general election should follow soon after the death of the King, and in July 1830 Parliament was dissolved. The Tories therefore had to go to the country a divided party, and when the new Parliament met early in November the Ministry had lost fifty seats. The Whigs seized the moment in both Houses to press for the reform of Parliament. But though Wellington had yielded on the matter of Roman Catholic Emancipation, on the question of Parliamentary reform he remained immovable. He declared that he regarded the existing Legislature as being perfect: this speech sealed the doom of the Ministry. The feeling, both in the country and in Parliament, was growing more intensely in favour of reform, and in November 1830 Wellington resigned. William then sent for Lord Grey, the Whig leader, to form a Ministry. This he had no difficulty in doing. His Cabinet included Lord Melbourne as Home Secretary and Lord Palmerston as Foreign Secretary. The tragic death of Huskisson, who had been killed at the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway in September 1830, robbed the Cabinet of one whose grasp of financial theory and practice would have been invaluable in the economic stress of the period. Lord John Russell—son of the Duke of Bedford, and sitting for a constituency in the Commons—also held Government office and was to prove the foremost exponent of reform in the Lower House though he was not yet of Cabinet rank. The Tory régime, which had been almost continuous since Lord North's accession to power in 1770, was at an end.

3. CONDITION OF PARLIAMENT

It is time that we tried to understand why the demand for the reform of Parliament was so widespread. The

reason may be summarized in a sentence: in theory Parliament represented the whole nation, but in practice it represented few beyond one small section of the nation, namely, the landowners. The following facts about the constitution of Parliament prior to 1830 will illustrate this general statement.

Counties.

In the thirteenth century, when Parliament was beginning to take shape, every shire sent two knights to the House of Commons and each of the most prominent boroughs sent two burgesses. The county representation had remained unchanged, and so had the county franchise: every freeholder of land worth forty shillings had a vote. Though this was a relatively low qualification, it excluded copyholders [1] and leaseholders, no matter how valuable the copyhold or leasehold might be.

Boroughs.

The borough representation and franchise was much more various and complicated. Whether a borough sent Members to the House of Commons was mainly a matter of custom. During the Middle Ages the king used his discretion in sending election-writs to particular boroughs. During the Tudor period especially the Crown used this "discretion" in order to obtain support in the Commons, for which purpose numerous small boroughs on royal estates —for example in the Duchy of Cornwall—were given representation. Most of these retained their rights afterwards. In general, boroughs represented in the Commons in the reign of James I continued to exercise their privilege permanently. But of these boroughs many, even of those originally meriting representation, had since decayed

[1] Copyhold was an ancient system of land tenure derived from feudalism: the copyholder held the land according to a *copy* of the court roll and had to observe certain customs and dues which varied from manor to manor. By a Statute of 1922, copyholds were converted into freeholds.

through plagues, the shifting of industries and the like. Some had become mere hamlets, and a few had no houses in them at all. Old Sarum, in Wiltshire, had no houses at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and most of Old Dunwich was under the sea, yet each of them was still represented by two members who were elected by the owners of the same holdings as had always conferred the franchise upon their owners. Such boroughs were justly known as "Rotten Boroughs". Other boroughs were represented by Members nominated by the local landlord, and hence, being "in his pocket", were called "Pocket Boroughs". This was the exact reverse of a representative system; for, whereas the basis of a representative system was that a large number of persons elected one person to represent them, in a "pocket borough" one man chose two to represent himself, and, in addition, he was usually already a member of the House of Lords. Moreover, there were several instances of a landlord owning more than one "pocket borough": Lord Lonsdale, for example, owned nine. Equally anomalous at the other end of the scale, was the absence of representation for the industrial towns of recent growth. Thus, though Manchester and Birmingham were computed to have 133,000 and 85,000 inhabitants respectively, neither of them was represented directly in the Commons.

Of the franchise in the towns, no generalization can be made: a borough commonly derived its representation and its voting-customs from its royal charter of incorporation, and, as there was no attempt at uniformity among these charters, the voting-qualifications varied from borough to borough. Perhaps the commonest custom was that votes were limited to members of the corporation; as the corporation was small in numbers and usually consisted of the members of one or two families who contrived to make their offices virtually hereditary, this was a very restricted franchise. In a few boroughs every man who boiled his own pot—that is, every householder—had a

vote, this being known as the " pot walloper " franchise. In other boroughs, the houses whose occupants had possessed votes in the earliest days of Parliament still conferred the franchise upon their inhabitants, though the houses in question might have declined in value enormously by the nineteenth century : such houses were known as " burgage-tenements ". One effect of the restricted franchise was that the bribery of sufficient electors to produce a majority in a constituency was not a difficult matter, and no candidate could hope to " win " a seat without spending thousands of pounds. Some boroughs even put up their seats to auction, and gave to the highest bidders the " honour " of representing them in Parliament !

Reasons for Delay in Reforms.

With such anomalies in every aspect of the so-called representative system, we need not be surprised at the widespread demands for parliamentary reform. Indeed, we marvel rather that reform was so long delayed. Two factors explain the delay.

First, until the late eighteenth century, land had been the source of national wealth, and hence there was some logic in the argument that those who, by virtue of their ownership of land, had the greatest stake in the nation's welfare should control its destinies. Only when the country became industrialized was the force knocked out of this argument.

Second, though during the closing years of the eighteenth century, there was a growing movement in favour of reform, the movement was checked by the French Revolution which afforded the only example in modern times of popular government. In the minds of the ruling class, " reform " and " revolution " were synonymous terms, and no extension of the English franchise was likely until France had returned to sane and stable government. This did not happen until July 1830 when, after a second revolution, Louis Philippe—the personification of the middle

commercial classes—was enthroned as the "bourgeois king". Such an event, occurring only a few weeks after Lord Grey's return to power, gave a marked impetus to the reform movement in England. We have now to return to watch Grey's handling of the situation.

4. FIRST REFORM ACT, 1832

Parliamentary Procedure.

If we are to understand the passage of the Reform Bill we need to know something of the parliamentary procedure whereby a Bill becomes an Act. Omitting details, the main stages of the process are as follows.

In the House of Commons, every Bill is read—that is, is considered by the Members—three times. The First Reading is the merely formal introduction of the measure by the responsible Member. A majority for the First Reading indicates only that the House is prepared to consider the principles involved. On the Second Reading the real struggle begins: the general principles of the Bill are then explained and debated. If the Bill survives this stage, it passes to a Committee of Members so that every clause, subject to the time allowed by the Government's Time Table, may be considered in detail and amended where desirable. The measure, as then amended, is given a Third Reading by the House and then, if it again secures a majority, passes to the House of Lords where it undergoes a similar process. Bills, other than those dealing with finance, may proceed in the reverse direction; that is, they may be initiated by the House of Lords and afterwards go to the Commons.

Sometimes the two Houses disagree over a Bill. The Lords may reject outright a measure that has passed the Commons, in which case it is defeated, except under the provisions of the Parliament Act of 1911.[1] Or, the Lords may pass a Bill but may amend it, so that its details differ

[1] Chapter IX, Section 3.

from those passed by the Commons. Negotiations are then necessary between the two Houses. What is of consequence is that for a Bill to become law it must, *in its final form*, pass both Houses. It then goes for the royal consent, and so becomes an Act of Parliament.

The Passage of the Bill.

In March 1831 Lord John Russell introduced into the House of Commons the eagerly awaited Reform Bill. On its second Reading the Bill was passed by a majority of one vote only, and in Committee the Government was defeated. Thereupon Grey resigned. A general election followed, and the Whigs were returned to power with a majority of one hundred.

A second Bill was therefore introduced in June. By September the Commons had passed it with substantial majorities, but in October the Lords rejected it on a second Reading. This action threw the nation into turmoil: serious riots occurred in large towns all over the country, and there could be no doubt that, if reform was prevented or even long delayed, riots would become revolution.

In order to meet certain criticisms which the Lords levied against the Bill, the Cabinet modified some of its provisions considerably, and in December 1831 a third Bill was introduced and, having easily passed all its stages in the Commons, was sent to the Upper House. This time the Lords, fearful of the results of rejecting the measure, tried other tactics: they amended some of its basic clauses until it ceased to fit the Whig programme. Grey, confident of the nation's support, refused to countenance the Lords' amendments, and in May the Cabinet resigned. The King then sent for Wellington to form a Ministry; but all Wellington's attempts at Cabinet-making failed, and the King had no alternative to sending for the only man who could command a majority in the Commons, namely, Grey. The latter would consent to return only on his own conditions: he stipulated that, if the Lords

continued their opposition to reform, the King should create enough new Whig Peers to pass the measure. The Tory peers were thus faced with a dilemma: either they must allow their House to be flooded with a permanent Whig majority which would be able unchecked to pass any amount of Whig legislation, or else they must allow the Reform Bill to pass while retaining a Tory majority. They did not hesitate long. In June the Bill was again before the Lords, and Wellington and most of the Tory peers withdrew from the House so that the measure passed through all its stages and received the royal assent.

The great struggle over Reform was over: the Reform Bill had become an Act.

Clauses.

Its provisions appear to us to be very moderate. The problem of the redistribution of seats was solved in the following way: boroughs with a population of less than two thousand lost both members; boroughs with a population of between two thousand and four thousand lost one member; and the one hundred and forty-three seats thus released were given to the new industrial towns and to the populous counties.

In the franchise qualifications, a distinction was made between boroughs and counties. In the former, a vote was given to all occupiers of property worth at least £10 a year. The county franchise was more complicated: the forty-shilling freeholders retained their vote; and votes were given also to copyholders, to leaseholders of land of £10 annual value (providing their lease was for a minimum of sixty years), and to other occupants of lands of at least £50 annual value.

Results of Act.

If the immediate effects of the Act be measured by the numbers it enfranchised, it was a sweeping measure: the former owners of pocket boroughs lost, without compensa-

tion, their customary right to nominate Members of Parliament, and the 455,000 new voters more than trebled the electorate. On the other hand, when we examine the meaning of the enfranchising clauses, their effect is seen to be very limited. Rents in the early nineteenth century, judged by present-day standards, were extremely low, and the £10–occupiers of the towns were the merchants and shop-keepers. Similarly, in the villages very few people were owners of even forty-shilling freeholds, and few others paid a rent of £50 ; and hence the only new county voters were well-to-do tenant farmers. In general, the vote was still given not to individuals but to particular houses and plots of land : the qualification was still on property and not on manhood.

Nevertheless, the ultimate results of the 1832 Act were vast beyond the calculations of anyone who witnessed its passage. These results may be summarized under two headings. First, the former aristocratic monopoly of political power was broken once and for all. The lines drawn in 1832 were quite arbitrary : there was no logical reason why the franchise in the boroughs should have been given to £10-occupiers and not, say, to £8-occupiers, or why in the counties the minimum rent should have been fixed at £50 instead of at £40. No sooner was the Act on the Statute Book than the still excluded sections of the nation began to clamour for further extensions of the franchise, nor could any reason—other than that of expediency—be adduced against their demands ; and during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries a series of further Reform Acts carried out in successive stages the logical implications of the Act of 1832, until by 1928 universal manhood suffrage was established.

Second, though at first no marked change was noticeable in the type of Member sent to the House of Commons, so that for many years the political leaders were drawn almost without exception from the old aristocratic houses, the dependence of at least the borough Members upon the

commercial element in the towns produced a much keener appreciation of the problems and needs of the new towns than had ever existed before. The result is seen in a great outburst of legislation in the years immediately following 1832. Thus in 1833 there were measures promoting education, regulating factories, and abolishing negro slavery; in 1834 the Poor Law was overhauled; in 1835 the Municipal Corporations were regularized; and a series of reductions in customs duties, culminating in the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, brought about a great fall in the cost of materials for manufactures and of foodstuffs for the masses of the people.

In the remainder of the present chapter we shall trace the first of these two ultimate results of the 1832 Reform Act, namely, the later Reform measures; and the next chapter will deal with the second result, that is, the series of social reforms in 1833 and 1834.

5. CHARTIST MOVEMENT, 1838–1848

Reasons.

The first attempt to widen the franchise of the 1832 Act began within half a dozen years of its passage and was due to two main causes. First, the events connected with the Reform Bill of 1832 roused the nation to so high a pitch of excitement that only after passions had cooled was the true meaning of the measure generally understood. The masses of the people, finding themselves with no more political power than formerly, then began to agitate for a more democratic suffrage.

The second cause was social rather than political. The most severely distressed sections of the nation in the opening years of the nineteenth century had, under the direction of most of the Radical leaders, grown accustomed to thinking of Parliamentary Reform as a panacea for all their woes. They were quickly undeceived. Work was no more plentiful, and bread was no cheaper, after 1832

than before. Indeed, in one respect the lot of the poor was made harder rather than easier; the Poor Law [1] of 1834 prohibited the wholesale poor relief which for over a generation had been distributed among the labouring folk and hence reduced to beggary and starvation large numbers of those who had become accustomed to depending upon it. These distressed multitudes therefore became more susceptible than ever to the arguments of the Radicals and agitators. Out of this situation arose the People's Charter.

Leaders.

The poverty was most widespread in the industrial towns of the north of England, and there the discontent soon threatened to express itself in disorder. The popular leader was *Feargus O'Connor*, an Irishman possessed of gigantic physical strength and energy. In addressing mass meetings, and through the columns of his newspaper the *Northern Star*, he attained immense influence. His policy was frankly one of force, and he urged his followers to extreme methods of violence.

In marked contrast to O'Connor, the other great leader, *William Lovett*, a London cabinet-maker, took the view that working-men would not be trusted with political power unless they showed that they were fitted to use it wisely. Believing, therefore, that no permanent advance would be gained by lawless methods, Lovett worked and lived for an improvement in the lot of the unfortunate masses by constitutional means. In 1836, along with Francis Place, he founded the "London Working Men's Association" for the propagation of these ideas; and it was Lovett who formulated the Charter as it appeared in 1838. Lovett was, in short, the brain of the Chartist movement.

The Charter.

Nearly all the clauses of the Charter had been propagated years earlier, some by one agitator, others by another,

[1] Chapter III, Section 4.

during the political campaigns preceding the Reform Bill. What was new about the Charter was the concentration upon six demands and the attempt to induce Parliament to incorporate these provisions in an Act.

The six items of the Charter were as follows: (1) annual Parliaments; (2) manhood suffrage; (3) equal electoral districts; (4) vote by ballot; (5) the payment of Members of Parliament; and (6) the abolition of the property qualification for Members of Parliament.

O'Connor's methods of force and Lovett's methods of peace were so antagonistic to each other that the movement could not follow both of them at the same time, and the internal story of Chartism is largely the story of the rivalry between the two sections of members. Briefly, the movement's early failure to secure parliamentary concessions enabled O'Connor to bring discredit upon Lovett and to urge greater violence, though finally—as Lovett had foreseen—violence defeated itself and hence the whole campaign faded out. We have now to trace these events step by step.

History of the Movement.

In order to impress Parliament with the extent of public opinion supporting the Charter, signatures were collected in its favour. While this was being done, in February 1839 a "National Convention" of elected delegates met in London to deliberate upon and to direct the campaign. The discussions revealed the diversity of temperaments and methods among the Chartists. Withdrawals of members soon occurred, and some of the seceders assembled in Birmingham where the more violent section was strong. In June 1839 the petition—reputed to be supported by 1,200,000 signatures—was presented to Parliament. The House of Commons by a large majority refused to consider it; and, when the Chartists failed to take any effective measures in reply, the movement became generally discredited in the country. The Government, quick to seize

the opportunity, suppressed the least signs of riot and imprisoned O'Connor and Lovett for twelve months. The Chartists, thus bereft of leaders, were powerless : the Convention broke up in August, and Chartism seemed about to die a natural death.

But Chartism was not to perish so easily, and 1839 proved to be its turning-point rather than its end. As soon as the leaders were released, the movement was reorganized. In 1842 another petition—this time claiming 3,000,000 signatures—was presented to the Commons, and once again it was overwhelmingly rejected. Then O'Connor made slashing and unscrupulous attacks upon Lovett, and so gained for himself complete ascendancy in the movement.

The final stage came in 1848. The revolutions against autocratic government which in that year occurred in every great—and in nearly every lesser—country on the Continent reacted also upon England : they rekindled the Chartists' enthusiasm and encouraged them to hope that the example set by the peoples of France and Germany would be an object-lesson to the people of England. A third petition was drawn up, and claimed to be supported by 6,000,000 signatures. Arrangements were made for a huge mass meeting to be held on 10th April, 1848, on Kennington Common. O'Connor was to deliver an oration, after which an enormous procession was to move off towards Westminster and to overawe Parliament into granting its demands. Things went wrong from the first. A considerable crowd turned up but was composed of curious spectators rather than of ferocious Chartists. The aged Duke of Wellington disposed troops at strategic points so that, even if the Chartists' hopes of a multitude had been realized, the soldiers could have deflected the procession away from Westminster. The rain pelted down in torrents and literally poured cold water on the proceedings. A few speeches were delivered, and then, without any procession, O'Connor drove to the House in a hansom cab accompanied by other cabs containing the monster petition. The Com-

mons moved that the petition be examined. This proved the death-blow of the Charter. The 6,000,000 signatures when counted numbered less than 2,000,000: of these, whole sheets were in one handwriting and included the signatures of Queen Victoria, Mr. Punch and of many another impossible supporter of Chartism! The whole nation exploded with laughter at the luckless Charter which immediately expired.

Results of the Charter.

But though the Charter itself proved a fiasco, the defeat of its objects was only temporary: since 1848 five of its six clauses have become law. The concluding section of this chapter will show that manhood suffrage and equal electoral districts were attained progressively during the next eighty years; the property qualification for Members of Parliament was abolished in 1858; vote by ballot was introduced by Gladstone's first Ministry in 1872; and the payment of Members of Parliament was granted in 1911. The only one of the six clauses not subsequently carried into effect was that demanding annual parliaments. An election every twelve months would cause too much political upheaval and uncertainty. Moreover, modern methods of communication, especially the prevalence of newspapers, have achieved the intention even of that clause, namely of keeping the Members in constant touch with their constituents and so ensuring that the will of the people prevails.

6. LATER REFORM BILLS

Before we pass on to consider the legislation of the Reformed Parliament, we may conveniently summarize at this point the successive stages whereby manhood suffrage, which the Charter failed to secure, was finally achieved.

1867.

The second Reform Bill was carried in 1867 by Lord Derby's Ministry, in which Disraeli was Chancellor of the

Exchequer and leader of the House of Commons.[1] It extended the franchise in the boroughs to all householders, and to lodgers paying a rental of £10 a year; and in the counties the occupiers' qualification was reduced from £50 to £12. A number of the smaller boroughs lost their Members of Parliament, the seats thus released being allocated to the counties and the larger towns.

The general effect of the Act was to enfranchise the artisans of the towns, though the village labourer still remained voteless. One consequence was the outburst of legislation enacting social reforms during the decade which followed.

1884 and 1885.

By the third Reform Act of 1884 the franchise qualifications already applying to the towns were extended to the counties. A Redistribution Act of the following year withdrew separate representation from all towns of under 15,000 inhabitants; assigned one Member only to towns of between 15,000 and 50,000 inhabitants; gave two Members to towns of between 50,000 and 165,000; and, for towns and counties with a population above the latter figure, provided for division into separate constituencies.

Agricultural labourers thus at last received votes, something like a democratic franchise was established, and approximately equal electoral districts were provided for.

1918.

The fourth Reform Act made a significant innovation. For several years before the European War of 1914–1919, a section of women had agitated—some of them lawlessly and violently—for women's suffrage. The agitation was held in abeyance after the outbreak of the War, during which women rendered highly valuable services to the nation. It was this latter fact which converted many men who hitherto had been hostile to the project, and the

[1] Chapter V; Section 1.

enfranchising section of the 1918 Act was largely a recognition of this service. The vote was given to all men of twenty-one years of age and over, and to all women of thirty years of age and over provided they were householders or were married to householders.

The Act provided also for a further drastic redistribution of seats. Towns of under 50,000 inhabitants lost their separate representation; those of between 50,000 and 120,000 were to have one Member; those of between 120,000 and 190,000 were to have two Members; and an additional Member was allotted for every 70,000 people.

1928.

The logical conclusion of these measures was reached in the 1928 Act which extended the vote to women on the same terms as to men and thus enfranchised every adult person, man and woman, in the country.

CHAPTER III

SOCIAL REFORMS

THIS chapter is concerned with the group of social reforms carried through Parliament in the years immediately following the Reform Act of 1832. Three of these reforms—those affecting Factory-labour, Education and the Poor Law—were closely related together ; and we shall therefore deal first with a reform that stood apart from them, namely, the abolition of slavery.

1. ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, 1833

William Wilberforce, 1759-1833.

The anti-slavery movement was not new. It derived its inspiration from the humanitarianism resulting from the eighteenth-century Methodist revival, one of the key-notes of which had been the insistence upon the value of every individual—no matter what his rank in society or colour—in the sight of God. The people most actively concerned for the abolition of slavery were a group of prominent members of the Church of England known as the " Evangelicals ", who aimed at doing within that Church what Methodism was doing outside it, namely, appealing to and caring for masses of the people and inculcating a simplicity of life and worship.

The best known of this group was William Wilberforce. In his early years Wilberforce had lived a careless and almost dissolute existence. At Cambridge he became the

close friend of young William Pitt, with whom he continued on terms of intimacy until Pitt's death in 1806. The religious change which Wilberforce underwent, and his consequent adhesion to the Evangelical party, resulted in his bending every energy to the humanitarian cause. In the interest of that cause he used all his influence with Pitt and, indeed, with most of the other leading politicians of the day. Many humanitarian projects received Wilberforce's support, but to none of them did he devote himself so wholeheartedly as to the abolition of slavery.

Numerous measures to deal with the evil were introduced into Parliament from 1788 onwards. But the Members of Parliament were not disposed very favourably towards abolition: some of them owned slave-plantations in the West Indies, and others were connected with, or were the nominees of, such owners. The result was that even Pitt, who favoured abolition, was not prepared to risk his parliamentary career upon the fortunes of an anti-slavery measure. The Ministry of All the Talents, which entered office after Pitt's death in January 1806 and of which the most prominent member was Fox, was more genuinely attached to the cause: in 1807 an Act was finally passed forbidding the slave trade—that is, the capture of negroes in Africa, their transport across the Atlantic, and their sale to planters—in British dominions.

Difficulties of Abolition.

Wilberforce and his friends regarded this as merely the first step towards the abolition of the whole system of slavery. As there seemed no prospect of immediate emancipation, attempts were made to improve the conditions of the negroes. In 1823, Canning issued a circular forbidding the use of the whip on the plantations. Even this measure produced a storm of protest among the West Indian planters; and when the slaves heard that their lot was to be improved they drew the conclusion that they had friends in England who would support them and they

consequently rose in an insurrection which was quelled only with great loss of life.

These proceedings illustrate the practical problems with which the abolition of slavery bristled and to which its advocates had to find a solution. The negroes, on the one hand, had never been anything but slaves and hence were not accustomed to personal responsibility. If they were set free they would presumably remain where they were to work the plantations as wage-earning labourers. But, having no experience of the value of money, they were not likely to use their liberty wisely. There was even grave doubt as to whether adequate protection could be given to the planters against the ill-will of their former slaves. On the other hand, the owners could make out a strong case for themselves. The slaves were the property of their masters as completely as cattle and chattels were, and if the slaves were set free the masters could not unjustly expect compensation; and, as the price of a negro was commonly about £50, the total amount required to purchase the freedom of all the slaves would be colossal. Moreover, the owners claimed that if they had to pay wages for the cultivation of their plantations, they would be unable to compete with the similar products of the slave-worked plantations of the United States of America. Any measure emancipating the slaves, therefore, not only would need the moral support of the nation but also would have to deal with these practical difficulties.

Emancipation Act, 1833.

The more liberal character of Lord Grey's 1833 Ministry and of the reformed House of Commons seemed to promise a hope of emancipation, and the abolitionists immediately introduced a new measure. Its provisions were:

1. All slave-children of six years of age and under, and all children born after the Act came into operation, were to be free.

2. On 1st August 1834 slavery was to cease in the British dominions, but during seven years the slaves were to be given an apprenticeship for freedom by serving their masters for three-quarters of their working-day and being free for the other quarter.
3. £20,000,000 was voted from the British Treasury as compensation to the slave-owners.

In this form the Bill passed through both Houses of Parliament and became law.

Results of Emancipation.

The second clause shows that the idea of gradual emancipation, notwithstanding the earlier failure of the attempt, still lingered; but to carry it out proved impossible. To try to treat a man as a slave after declaring him to be free was absurd, especially while for a quarter of his working day he actually was free. The slaves resembled a metal spring which is quite safe while firmly held but which, when the pressure begins to be released, is liable to fly off in any direction. In short, the state of semi-freedom broke down at the end of four years, so that three years before the stipulated date all slaves in the British dominion were free.

Deep resentment was provoked among the slave-owners who declared, with truth, that £20,000,000 was far below the total market-value of the slaves. In Cape Colony, as we shall see,[1] this discontent was one of the reasons for the "Great Trek" of the Boers out of British territory beginning in 1836. In the West Indies, the planters' prediction of economic ruin if the slaves were freed was almost literally fulfilled. The only labourers who could endure the conditions of the plantations were the negroes; but in the West Indian climate the freed-men could live on the product of so little work that they were completely unreliable, and the plantations suffered accordingly. This, added to the fact that the sugar-beet industry was

[1] Chapter XIV, Section 1.

already being developed in Europe, caused a serious decline in the prosperity of the West Indies. Nevertheless, it is difficult to see what other policy the country could have adopted towards slavery.

One of the outstanding features of the later nineteenth century was the partition of Africa among the European nations. Not the least important aspect of the 1833 Emancipation Act was that in those areas of Africa which were to come under British rule and influence, the natives were protected against slavery; and the effect of this example upon the other states of the world gradually bore fruit.

While the abolition measure was being passed, William Wilberforce was on his death-bed, and the news of the triumph of the emancipation movement reached its inspirer only just in time—a fitting crown to a life of devoted endeavour. The action of Britain in freeing the slaves was one of the most genuinely noble in her history. It brought her no material gain; on the contrary, it demanded much financial sacrifice.

2. FACTORIES AND MINES

Conditions in Factories.

The West Indies and South Africa were not the only places where slavery was to be found at the opening of the nineteenth century. The workers in the new factories of England herself, though legally free, were, in respect of their labour, as much at the mercy of their masters as were the negroes overseas. In one respect the lot of the English factory-worker was the worse of the two: a negro slave, even though he might be regarded as an animal, was a valuable animal, and his master therefore took some amount of care for his well-being; but in England factory "hands" were cheap, and if one of them was incapable of work another could easily be procured without his having to be bought. Even his rate of hire was absurdly low: the

unemployment caused by the introduction of machinery meant that for each job offered there were numerous applicants, so that the master, though he named an extremely low rate of pay, could be sure of securing a worker.

Low wages had the further terrible result that parents, needing to supplement the family income from every possible source, no matter how small, sent their children to the factories as soon as the little creatures could perform the simplest mechanical operation.

A large proportion of child labour was, however, provided not by such parents but by workhouses. Parish-children were sent in batches to all parts of England—London children were commonly sent into Lancashire—to work in factories. This meant that, at a time when communications were still primitive and difficult, the children were separated by many miles from anyone who might have taken an interest in their welfare, and hence they were completely at the disposal of their master. They were known as "apprentices" because in theory they were learning a craft whereby in due course they would be able to support themselves. In practice they were compelled to live in such inhuman conditions that they were lucky to survive at all, and those who did survive were fit only to continue as factory-drudges.

During several years before 1832 the state of the factories, and particularly of the child-workers, had been increasingly attracting the attention of enlightened men. But Members of Parliament and their constituents either were ignorant of the condition of the factory-worker or were allied in interest with the factory-owners, and no measure to deal with the prevalent evils was likely until the reform of Parliament was first carried through.

Seventh Earl of Shaftesbury, 1801-1885.

The man who, more than any other, roused the conscience of the nation on the subject of the factories was Lord Ashley, son of the Earl of Shaftesbury, and better known

by the latter title to which he succeeded on the death of his father in 1851. From his early youth he was a zealous member of the Evangelical party of the Church of England Just as Wilberforce—the other member of that party to which reference has already been made—devoted himself to the cause of slaves overseas, so Shaftesbury spent his long life in the interests of the depressed classes of England. Politically he remained an unbending aristocrat : he had no confidence in democracy, feared the consequences of giving votes to the ignorant masses—and in justice to his view we must remember that the masses were then extremely ignorant—and opposed all the Reform Bills of his time, namely, those of 1832, 1867 and 1884. But no cause that was likely to benefit the unfortunate sections of society ever appealed to him in vain. Nor was his support of such causes merely nominal. He interested himself personally and sacrificially in whatever he undertook : he went down coal-mines, investigated factory-conditions, and risked his life in horrible slums and dens of vice. Three causes to which he devoted himself are our immediate concern, namely, those of factory workers, mine-workers, and child chimney-sweeps.

Factory-Commission, 1833.

Factories had been the subject of legislation before the reformed Parliament. The first Factory Act had been passed as early as 1802 owing to the initiative of Sir Robert Peel, father of Peel the Prime Minister and himself a factory-owner. It declared that factories were to be cleaned, that children were not to work in them more than twelve hours a day, and that there was to be no night-work. But the operation of the Act was very limited : it did not apply to wage-earning children but only to " apprentices ", it concerned only woollen and cotton factories, and no efficient system of inspection was erected to ensure its being enforced. Other Factory Acts were passed during the following years—one in 1819 and another in 1831—but

they too failed to deal with the root of the evils, either because they were limited in scope or because they were easily evaded in practice. The system of birth-certificates, now compulsory, was not officially adopted until 1837 so that verification of a child's age was impossible; parents and masters were alike interested to evade the law; and where infringements of the Factory Acts were common, the workers dared not give information against their employers.

Then in 1833 a decisive step was taken. A Factory Bill, introduced in that year by Ashley, resulted in the appointment of a Commission to inquire into Factory conditions. Appalling facts were brought to light. Tiny children of six and seven years of age and upwards were working commonly fourteen hours a day, and not infrequently sixteen or eighteen hours. One result of such hours was that towards the end of the day the children could be kept awake only by cruel beatings at the hands of the foreman: if they went to sleep—as they often did—they fell into the moving machinery and were crushed to death or, if they were less fortunate, were horribly mutilated for life. Usually they slept in a shed adjoining the factory and spent their wretched lives in those two buildings. A more far-reaching result of the long hours and bad conditions was that the children were growing up ruined physically and without mental or moral training for adult life. If this was allowed to continue unchecked, the hand-workers would become a decrepit and depraved mass which, as it multiplied, would involve the nation in decay. Further, the conditions to which the parish apprentices were compelled to submit, fixed the standard of factory-life for the wage-earners' children also.

Long hours were not the only evils revealed by the Commission. Most of the factories were badly lighted, ill ventilated and unclean. They had been built to house machinery, and the welfare of the folk who had to manipulate the machinery was not seriously considered.

Factory Acts.

After the publication of the Commission's Report, Ashley's Bill was shelved, and Grey's Ministry of 1830–1834 introduced a Factory Bill on its own behalf. The measure, which applied to textile mills, became an Act in the same year (1833) and provided that :

1. No child under nine years of age should be employed at all.
2. Children between nine and thirteen years of age were not to work more than nine hours a day.
3. Children between thirteen and eighteen years of age were not to work more than twelve hours a day.
4. Inspectors were appointed to see that the Act was carried into effect.

The most important clause was the last, not only because it held out some hope that the other clauses would be enforced but also because it set a precedent followed by social legislation of many kinds during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The 1833 Act constituted a notable victory, but Ashley and his friends were not content : they continued their efforts in the interests of the factory-workers. In 1844—that is, during Peel's second administration (1841–1846)—Ashley introduced a Factory Bill which, passing into law, fixed a maximum working-day of six-and-a-half hours for children under thirteen years old, and of twelve hours for women ; further the Act forbade the " apprenticing " of workhouse children under ten years of age, and enjoined the protection against moving machinery.

The principle of this measure was carried still further by yet another of Ashley's Bills, namely, that of 1847 which fixed a maximum ten-hour day for all between the ages of thirteen and eighteen.

Mines Act, 1842.

The promoters of the 1833 Factory Act had hoped that the children whom it prevented from working in factories might manage to get some rudimentary education. Indeed, that Act had provided that all children under thirteen years of age should receive at least two hours' education daily. This clause was easily evaded, partly because of the vagueness of the term "education". In 1833 also, as we shall see later in this chapter, the Government showed its attitude by making a grant towards education. But in a number of districts these hopes of education were frustrated: many of the infants who, according to the 1833 Act, were too young to work in factories, were sent by their parents into coal mines!

The condition of life in the mines was the next object to which Shaftesbury turned his attention after securing the passage of the 1833 Factory Act. Continuous propaganda obtained a Mines Commission in 1840, and in 1842 a horrifying Report was issued, its details being made exceptionally striking by the then novel method of illustrating with sketches some of the work underground. Children of five or six years of age were employed in opening and shutting ventilation-doors in the pit galleries to allow the passage of the tubs of coal. There, for fourteen or sixteen hours on end, the children sat in total darkness, and in silence broken only by the occasional passing of the trucks: this was solitary confinement of the worst sort and certain to have terrible results upon both the bodies and the minds of its victims. Children a little older were compelled to drag the trucks of coal along the galleries; but as the latter were not deep enough to allow a child to stand upright, the only possible method was for him to crawl on all-fours with a belt round his waist and a chain attached from the belt to the tub, as though he were a mere beast of burden—which, indeed, he was. Also, as the pits were imperfectly drained, the crawling had to be done among

filth and slime. When children were not available, the haulage was done by women. Also, when the pit had a sloping shaft instead of a perpendicular one, the coal was brought to the surface in large baskets strapped to the women's backs. The effect which such work would have, not only upon its immediate victims but also upon later generations, was too plain to need argument to prove it, and no time was lost in legislating on the basis of the Report.

Lord Ashley in 1842 introduced a Mines Bill which passed the Commons by great majorities and the Lords by smaller ones. The Act forbade the employment of boys under ten and of all female labour in the mines.

Climbing Boys.

One other cause to which Shaftesbury devoted himself deserves mention here, namely, that of the boy chimney-sweeps. Chimneys were then swept by sending up tiny boys to sweep and scrape them. The children were commonly sold to their masters who kept them often without proper food and with the bags of soot as their only bed. The boys' natural revulsion against the darkness and the soot of the chimney was overcome by cruel beatings, by sticking pins into the feet, or by lighting a fire at the bottom of the chimney so as to scare the child upwards.

For thirty-five years Shaftesbury was trying to abolish this cruelty. As early as 1840 he managed to get an Act passed forbidding the climbing of chimneys by children; but public opinion was not ready for the measure which, through the connivance of parents and of householders alike, was a dead letter from the first. Occasionally there would occur a particularly bad case of maiming or death through climbing, and such instances Shaftesbury used in order to educate and move the public conscience. From time to time, first in the House of Commons and after 1851 in the House of Lords, he introduced anti-climbing Bills; but these were either defeated or amended until they were ineffective. At last his efforts were crowned with the suc-

cess they deserved. In 1875 his Bill, forbidding the employment of boys and providing machinery to make the provision effective, was adopted by the Government and carried into law.

3. EDUCATION

Schools Before 1832.

A third subject to which Parliament gave its attention in the first year after its own reform was education. Previous to the nineteenth century there was no attempt to provide education for the people generally. Three types of schools existed. First, in some towns a Grammar School was to be found, usually of ancient foundation and connected with the Parish Church ; but these were often very inefficient and, by the end of the eighteenth century, had usually few pupils. Second, there were Dames' Schools run by old ladies who, for a few coppers weekly, were supposed to teach the children sent to them, though the " dames " had none but rudimentary education themselves and " taught " children of all ages in the same room without any suitable equipment. Third, Charity Schools existed for very poor children, though attendance at such schools was regarded as a badge of inferiority. Only at the close of the eighteenth century was a change foreshadowed by the work of two men, Bell and Lancaster.

Andrew Bell (1753–1832) was a Scot who became a Church of England clergyman and went out to India as a chaplain. There he became superintendent of an orphanage and, having quarrelled with his teachers, he organized the school on novel lines. He himself taught a few senior scholars and each of these passed on the lesson to a group of younger children. The " Teacher-scholars " were called monitors, and hence Bell's method became known as the " monitorial system ". Having returned to England, in 1797 Bell wrote a book explaining his system.

At the same time as Bell was experimenting in India,

another man was being driven to adopt a similar expedient in England. This was *Joseph Lancaster* (1778–1838), a poor Quaker working among slum children in London. The numbers which his school attracted were so great that he also had recourse to a monitorial system which, though similar in principle to that of Bell, he elaborated in greater detail.

Voluntary Societies.

Unfortunately Lancaster was unable to stand the fame, and its accompanying wealth, which his system brought to him: he lived luxuriously, ran into debt and thus endangered the existence of his famous school. To avert this disaster, a number of interested men formed the *British and Foreign School Society* in 1808. The object of the Society was to gather funds so that schools might be opened in the populous areas. These schools were to be organized on "Lancastrian" lines and the instruction, though it included Bible-teaching, was not to favour any particular religious denomination. A number of Church of England members viewed with alarm this non-sectarian education, and in 1811 there came into existence the *National Society* whose purpose was to open schools in which the principles of the Established Church should be taught. Hence arose the "British Schools" and the "National Schools", the buildings of which are not uncommonly still to be seen. In places where both Societies had a school, a Church of England parent would send his children to the National School and a Nonconformist parent would patronize the British School.

Thus in the earliest stages of the development of education in England, the subject became entangled with religious denominational bitterness from which it has never yet broken free and which has injured both religion and education.

When in 1833 the Government decided to promote education, it did so not by establishing schools of its own but by

subsidizing the institutions which already were doing the work, and £10,000 was granted to each of the two School Societies.

During the years that followed, the grant was repeated though in a steadily increasing amount; but, as the century wore on, this indirect fostering of education was seen to be unsatisfactory and there was a growing demand for a Government-organized system of national elementary education. Two factors especially brought this to a head. First, the second Reform Act (1867) enfranchized a large number of middle-class folk, and to educate their children, who would one day possess a vote, seemed only the logical corollary of Reform. It is not surprising, therefore, that the energetic Gladstone Government of 1868–1874 was favourably disposed towards an education measure. Second, Prussia was a rapidly developing nation, and her progress was commonly believed to be due to her splendid system of State-education.

Forster's Act, 1870.

In 1870, Mr. Forster—the Vice-Chairman of the Privy Council Committee which, as far back as 1839, had been formed to supervise the spending of the Government grants—introduced a Bill which, when it passed into law in the same year, became known as Forster's Act. Its provisions were that the Government should continue to support the voluntary School Societies; that Government Schools should be erected wherever the existing voluntary schools were insufficient; that School Boards, elected by the ratepayers, were to manage the schools and to levy a rate towards their maintenance; that parents were to contribute (up to a maximum of ninepence a week) towards the cost of the schools; and that the attendance of pupils at the daily scripture-lesson was to be voluntary. Further, any School Board was empowered to make children's attendance at school compulsory up to thirteen years of age. To make it universally compulsory was impossible

because when the Act was passed there were not enough schools for every child in the country. The Act was not perfect—for example, it did not end the denominational element in education—but it laid the foundation of all the national education measures which followed.

So steadily were new schools erected that Mundella, Gladstone's Vice-President of the Education Committee, was able to secure the *Mundella Act* of 1880. School-attendance was thereby made compulsory up to at least the age of ten, and up to thirteen unless the child had obtained a certificate of proficiency. In 1899 the minimum age was raised to twelve. In 1891, primary education was provided free. As a means to the more efficient development of the country's educational system, in 1899 the *Board of Education* was established in place of the Privy Council committee which hitherto had been the body responsible for the work. In the next year the school leaving-age was raised to fourteen.

The *Balfour Education Act* of 1902 made a thorough-going reorganization of national education comparable to that of Forster's Act. The School Boards were abolished; their place was taken by the Education Committees of Local Government bodies,[1] Borough Councils being responsible for elementary schools within their boundaries, and the County Councils for other elementary schools and for secondary schools.

Higher Education.

This was the first attempt to bring coherence into the secondary schools of the country. In 1868 and 1869, Acts, based upon the Reports of Commissions, had been passed to reform the existing Public and Endowed Schools, but no effort had hitherto been made to erect new secondary schools or to provide secondary education for the nation as a whole. The 1902 Act facilitated the provision of such schools and of a system of scholarships whereby the poorest

[1] Chapter VIII, Section 2.

children might obtain free education right through to a university.

In 1850 there had been a Commission to inquire into the conditions of the Universities of Oxford and of Cambridge, hitherto the preserves of aristocracy and of the Church of England, no Dissenters of any kind being eligible for membership. Largely as the result of these Commissions, the following years saw a series of measures which gradually reshaped the educational system of the two universities and broadened their basis. In 1871 religious tests for the universities were finally abolished, thus opening the universities to all alike, irrespective of religious creed.

Our period was marked also by the spread of higher education outside the two ancient universities. As early as 1828 a college was set up in London, and in 1836 a combination of colleges led to the establishment of London University with the power to grant degrees. This was followed by the erection of university colleges—some of them working in conjunction with London—in a number of other great towns. The nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have thus gone a long way towards organizing a truly national system of education.

4. POOR LAW

Early Poor Law.

The fourth of the series of great social reforms following the 1832 Reform Act was that relating to the Poor Law. No subject called more urgently for legislation. From Tudor times the State had recognized its double duty of providing for its poor and, in doing so, of distinguishing between the deserving and undeserving poor. An Elizabethan Statute of 1601 had enacted that in each parish a rate should be levied to relieve the impotent poor; that able-bodied men able to work should have work found for them; and that able-bodied men who refused to work should be whipped.

The Elizabethan system was elaborated in detail, though

fulfilled in principle, by an Act of 1722 whereby parishes were empowered to group themselves into Unions, to erect a workhouse in each Union, and to insist that persons desiring relief should go to the workhouse. The conditions of life in the workhouse were purposely made less comfortable than a man could, by working, provide for himself: thus the "Workhouse Test" came into vogue, for no one would accept Poor Law relief (that is, would become the inmate of a workhouse) unless he were genuinely unable to maintain himself.

The assumption upon which these Statutes was based was that there was enough work available for all. This assumption was completely undermined by the changes of the eighteenth century. The wholesale unemployment resulting from the introduction of machinery put upon the Poor Law system of the country a strain which it could not endure. The workhouses became filled with able-bodied men, for whom they were not originally intended. *Gilbert's Act* of 1782 therefore forbade the admission of such men to workhouses and enacted that work should be found for them near their own homes. This Act did not touch directly the other cause of poverty, almost more widespread than that of unemployment, namely, the low wages of many of those who were employed. Consequently, when in 1795 the Berkshire magistrates met at Speenhamland to fix a scale of reliefs, they decided to supplement wages where necessary in order to bring them up to the level necessary to maintain a man and his dependants. The scale then drawn up was generally adopted throughout the country and became known as the "Speenhamland System".

Early Nineteenth-Century Conditions.

Though the position of the Poor Law authorities in face of the problems created by industrial change was extremely difficult, the Speenhamland solution of those problems was disastrous. Employers and workers alike lost all sense

of economic responsibility to the nation. employers dropped wages still further because, whether they paid little or much, the Poor Rate made up the total income of the wage-earner to a subsistence level; workers lost all incentive to industry and enterprise, for the industrious and the idle were equally well (or badly) recompensed. Masses of the population became pauperized, and the children of those masses were born and grew up in a condition in which thrift was unnecessary, and even disadvantageous: the responsibility for the individual's welfare rested not on himself but on the State. During the opening years of the nineteenth century, the manual workers were sinking rapidly into a condition of moral and economic degradation. The outward index of the disaster was the Poor Rate which was so high as to be a crushing burden upon industry and more particularly upon agriculture, since the Rate was levied upon land.

Two practical difficulties stood in the way of any reform. First, to withdraw the reliefs would impose great hardship upon the poor who had become accustomed to Poor Law relief. Second, any party which dealt with the problem as it needed to be dealt with would become so unpopular that no politician was likely to take the risk.

Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834.

Yet the evil effects of Speenhamland were cumulative, and the longer they continued the greater would be the difficulty of dealing with them. At last, in 1833 Lord Grey's Government appointed a Commission to investigate the question. The Report was not presented until 1834, by which time Grey had been succeeded by Melbourne. So devastating was the condemnation of the existing system that the Government decided to act at once, and a Bill was introduced and passed the same year.

The provisions of the Poor Law Amendment Act, which were based upon the recommendations of the Report, swept away the Speenhamland system at a stroke. Out-

door relief (that is, relief outside a workhouse) was forbidden except to the aged and infirm. Parishes were grouped into Unions, and any able-bodied person applying for relief had to enter a workhouse, so that the Workhouse Test was again applied. The administration of these regulations in each Union was placed in the hands of "Guardians" elected by the ratepayers, and a central Commission of three men was appointed to supervise the work throughout the country and so to ensure uniformity in the operation of the Act.

The effects were unmistakable. Rates everywhere dropped suddenly and substantially. But the price paid for this decrease was intense hardship endured by large numbers of the poor whose wages alone were insufficient to maintain them in even the bare necessities of life. As we have seen,[1] the resulting discontent was one of the chief causes of the Chartist movement. Nevertheless, it is difficult to see what other policy was admissible. The 1834 Act was, indeed, in the nature of a surgical operation; unavoidable as a means of eradicating an evil growth, entailing immediate hardship to the patient, but making possible an ultimate recovery of sound health. England was saved from the disgrace and degradation of a large permanent pauper class, and those who would have formed that class recovered their sense of personal responsibility and independence.

Local Government Act, 1929.

In principle, the Poor Law Amendment Act remained in operation for nearly a century, that is, until after the period covered by this volume. For the sake of completeness we may notice that the Local Government Act of 1929 made radical changes in Poor Law administration. As from 1st April 1930, the powers of the local Guardians were transferred to the County Councils who were to appoint a "Public Assistance Committee", with a sub-committee

[1] Chapter II, Section 5.

in each district, to do the work which formerly was done by the Guardians. The essential difference between the old and the new methods is that whereas formerly the Poor Law administration was in the hands of a separately elected body, now it is controlled by the general Local Government authority, namely, the County Council.

5. POLITICS, 1832–1841

The Parties.

The Whig party, which had been responsible for the social reforms, had originated about 1673 in a group of politicians who aimed at limiting the power of the King, by making him exercise that power through Parliament, and at championing the cause of religious liberty. The Dissenters were the class who suffered most severely through restrictions placed upon religious worship and the exercise of political privileges; and they therefore supported the Whigs. The Tories, on the other hand, became the party of the Church of England. In short, the Whigs had originally been the champions of constitutional monarchy and of the rights of Dissenters; and the Tories had stood for government by a strong king and for the privileges of the Established Church.

By the time that the Whigs were returned to power in 1830, the original reasons for the existence of the parties had ceased to operate: the constitutional issue had been settled long before and the former lines of party-demarcation had consequently become blurred. Yet, probing beneath the surface, we can see that in essentials the Whigs still stood for liberty; but instead of vindicating Parliament's rights against the Sovereign they strove to strengthen Parliament by making it more representative of the nation. This was the meaning of the Reform Act of 1832. Also, the Whigs—and, later in the century, their successors the Liberals—were generally supported by the Nonconformists.

Significance of Social Reforms.

The outburst of social reforms which followed the Reform Act aimed at improving the conditions of a large section of wage-earners hitherto almost ignored in the State. Two aspects of this legislation need to be noticed. First, in much of it the Whigs were acting contrary to their own principles. The Factory Acts, for example, curtailed rather than extended liberty: many parents who wished to send their children to work were prevented by the new laws from so doing. A similar criticism might be passed upon most of the Whig reforms. The truth was that the logic of circumstances was proving stronger than the logic of theories. The new conditions amid which men worked and lived, in factories, mines and slums, were such that individual liberty might be a farce because men no longer met on anything like equal terms: workers were so completely at the mercy of their masters that equality could be secured only by legislation to secure minimum safeguards in the interests of the workers. The main articles of individual liberty had been won: henceforward the struggle was to be for social liberty.

Second, the batch of social reforms implied a new conception of the functions of Parliament. During the eighteenth century Parliament had done little more than grant money for maintaining State services—the royal household, the salaries of Ministers, the civil service, the army and navy—and exercise a general criticism of ministerial policy. Statutes of major importance almost invariably related to Imperial rather than to domestic affairs: examples are the Quebec, Canada and India Acts and the Irish Act of Union. Only rarely was Parliament concerned with the welfare of the mass of the people of England. When an Act relating to social conditions was passed it was to remedy a particular abuse or a particular defect in an existing Statute: Gilbert's Act (1782) is a case in point. After 1832 this attitude was changed, and

Parliament showed its sense of responsibility for the welfare of all the people by increasingly initiating large-scale reforms.

Melbourne's First Ministry, 1834.

The immediate result of the social reforms passed during Lord Grey's Premiership was the result which usually follows such periods of legislative activity: not only was the Opposition antagonistic but the Cabinet became divided against itself. Some Members thought that certain of the reforms were too extreme and some that they were too moderate. Even while the reforms were being passed, Ireland—the most fertile of all sources of embarrassment to Britain—was causing difficulty. The granting of Roman Catholic Emancipation in 1829 had by no means pacified the Irish. O'Connell led the peasants in a demand for the abolition of tithes for the support of the Established Church, and a "Tithe War" ensued. So serious was the disorder that in 1833 a severe Coercion Act was passed. This Act was to remain in force only until 1st August 1834 and, as that date approached, the differences among Ministers came to a head: some were for its renewal, some for its lapse. Other Irish matters had arisen in the meantime, and finally, in July 1834, Grey resigned.

For the moment the Whigs remained in office, the Premiership being given to Lord Melbourne who had been Home Secretary in Grey's Government. But the arrangement could be only a temporary one, and in November 1834 Melbourne was dismissed.

Peel's First Ministry, 1834-1835.

The Tories therefore returned to office. By this time the leadership of the party had passed from the Duke of Wellington to Sir Robert Peel, and the latter was entrusted with the formation of a Cabinet.

Peel had first entered Parliament as Member for an Irish rotten borough in 1809, and from 1812 until 1818 he was

Secretary for Ireland in Lord Liverpool's Ministry. In 1822, when Liverpool's Government was reconstructed and "liberalized", Peel became Home Secretary [1] and, with only one short break, held that office until the Tories went out of power in 1830. During Wellington's Premiership (1828–1830) Peel was leader of the Commons and was therefore responsible for seeing Roman Catholic Emancipation through the House.[2] We have seen that two notable reforms stand to Peel's credit as Home Secretary, namely the reform of the Criminal Code [3] and the institution of the Metropolitan Police-force.[4]

As Tory Prime Minister in 1834 Peel was in an impossible position, for the Whigs still retained a majority in the Commons. At the end of December, therefore, Parliament was dissolved. The General Election which followed was notable chiefly for Peel's declaration of policy issued primarily to his constituents at Tamworth and hence known as the *Tamworth Manifesto*. Therein he declared that "if the spirit of the Reform Bill implies merely a careful review of institutions, . . . combining with a firm maintenance of established rights the correction of proved abuses and the redress of real grievances", then he accepted the Reform Bill in the name of himself and his party. This acceptance of Reform by the party which hitherto had bitterly opposed it transformed the political situation. Henceforth the Tories began to call themselves Conservatives and to claim that, while anxious to "conserve" what was best in the past, they were not averse to moderate reforms.

The Manifesto had a marked effect upon the election, and the Conservatives gained a large number of seats, but the Whigs still kept a majority. In April 1835 Peel, unable any longer to carry on the Government, was compelled to resign office, and Melbourne brought the Whigs back to office.

[1] Chapter II, Section 1.
[2] Chapter II, Section 2.
[3] Chapter II, Section 1.
[4] Chapter II, Section 2.

Melbourne's Second Ministry, 1835-1841.

The small Whig majority and the strength of the new Conservative Opposition led by Peel made the Government weak from the beginning. Melbourne, also, was not a vigorous leader, and he pursued a policy of letting well alone. Five items of the Ministry need to be mentioned. First, the Municipal Corporation Act (1835) reformed the government of towns, and will therefore be noticed in our review of Local Government.[1] Second, the opening stages of the Chartist movement had to be dealt with in 1838 and 1839.[2] Third, Lord Palmerston, as Foreign Secretary, intervened decisively against Mehemet Ali in Syria (1839) and so began his long career of counter-balancing the power of Russia around Constantinople.[3] Fourth, following the Canadian Rebellions of 1837, Lord Durham was sent to the Colony in 1839, and the next year issued his famous Report. Lastly, less obtrusive but not less noteworthy than the foregoing was Melbourne's influence in moulding the life of the new sovereign.

William IV died in June 1837. The British throne devolved upon the Princess Victoria, daughter of William's brother Edward, Duke of Kent.[4] But in Hanover the Salic Law operated, so that a woman could not occupy the throne: William IV's brother Ernest, the Duke of Cumberland, was the nearest male claimant, and he therefore became King of Hanover. Thus Britain and Hanover, whose crowns had been worn by the same sovereign since George I's accession in 1714, were finally separated, and Britain was set free from Continental entanglements except those which she entered upon voluntarily.

The new Queen was just eighteen years old. Since the Duke of York's death in 1827, her accession to the throne had been almost a certainty, and she had been carefully trained by her mother for her royal destiny. The Min-

[1] Chapter VIII, Section 1.
[2] Chapter II, Section 5.
[3] Chapter XV, Section 4.
[4] See Table, page 7.

isters found the girl-Queen quiet, amenable to persuasion and with the highest sense of her duty as sovereign, yet very dignified and—as far as her experience allowed—sound and independent in judgment. Of all these qualities she had instant need, for her predecessors had brought the monarchy into great disrepute : George III had been pitied as a man, especially towards the end of his long reign when he was blind, deaf and insane, but his disastrous attempt to restore the personal powers of the sovereign, with the resulting loss of the North American Colonies, had alienated a large section of the nation ; George IV's loose living caused the Court to be a public scandal ; and however popular bluff " Silly Billy " William IV might be, no one could respect him highly as a king. It was commonly felt that one more unsuitable monarch would turn Britain into a Republic. Not the least notable of Victoria's achievements was that she not merely retained her throne for sixty-four years but that she restored the monarch to his rightful position as representative of the traditions of the British Constitution. Moreover, during her reign there developed the " Second British Empire ", and of this the British monarch became the unifying centre.

Fortunately for the Queen and for the country, the Prime Minister was Lord Melbourne who, whatever his deficiencies as a party leader, was experienced, dignified and sympathetic. To this counsellor the Queen became devotedly and openly attached, and much of her subsequent success was due to his patient guidance in the opening years of the reign. Melbourne was politically in a difficult position : his majority in the Commons was slender and uncertain ; as time passed, the accumulation of grievances—the operation of the 1834 Poor Law, of Chartism and of the Anti-Corn-Law League (both founded in 1838)—brought the Ministry's prestige so low that in May 1839 Melbourne felt himself compelled to resign.

Peel was the only practical alternative as Prime Minister, but his shy, awkward bearing impressed the Queen unfa-

vourably after Melbourne's graciousness. When Peel presented a list of the new Ministers he demanded also changes in the Queen's ladies-in-waiting—known as the "Ladies of the Bedchamber"—who, having been appointed by the previous Ministry, were Whigs. Hence arose the *Bedchamber Question*. The Queen refused to be deprived of those to whom she had become personally accustomed. Peel remained adamant, and finally he refused to accept office. The truth probably was that Peel, watching the popular tide turn surely in his favour, was content to wait until that tide was at the flood. Meanwhile the government of the country had somehow to be carried on, and Melbourne chivalrously stepped into the breach. His unwelcome task could not last long. Peel's position both in the country and in the House continued to improve, and in August 1841 Melbourne finally resigned.

For both Melbourne and the Queen the parting was less regrettable than it had been two years before because in 1840 the Queen had married her cousin *Prince Albert* of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. As Prince Consort he had no constitutional position in the State, but Victoria's affection for him was so deep, and he displayed such sound sense and was so genuinely concerned for the welfare of his adopted country, that he became the Queen's constant confidant and adviser. Even the nation in general, though at first coldly disposed towards him, learned to esteem him highly. Thus the Queen felt less lonely at the separation from Melbourne than she otherwise would have done, and Melbourne felt that he was leaving her with a wise friend.

Sir Robert Peel's second Ministry (1841–1846) [1] was one of the most notable in British History. It is remembered chiefly for its financial and customs reforms which carried the country a long way towards complete Free Trade. This forms the subject of the next chapter.

[1] Chapter IV, Section 3.

CHAPTER IV

FREE TRADE

IN our survey of social conditions at the opening of the nineteenth century we saw that the distress resulting from the introduction of machinery and from war-time taxation was accentuated by the artificial raising of corn-prices through the 1815 Corn Law.[1] We have seen also that Grey's Whig Government, which entered office in 1830, carried not only Parliamentary Reform but also a number of measures of social reform likely to improve the lot of the masses of the people. The one cause of distress which they made no attempt to deal with was the Corn Law. But during the years following the first Reform Act, the nation's views upon the whole principle of taxation underwent a radical change: the result was a series of sweeping fiscal reforms—involving, among other things, the abolition of the Corn Laws—which transformed Britain from a Protectionist to a Free Trade country. The object of this chapter is to trace the stages of that transformation.

1. ADAM SMITH, 1723–1790

Meaning of Free Trade.

Free Trade, in its complete form, is trade unhampered by customs duties or other restrictions. In practice, customs duties may be of either, or both, of two kinds; in

[1] Chapter I, Section 1.

other words, a duty may aim at achieving either of two objects, namely, protecting home producers or raising revenue. If a duty is levied at the port on goods of a class produced in Britain, the effect is to raise the price of those goods in the shops and thus to give to the British producer a better chance in the home market ; this was the purpose of the 1815 Corn Law. Such a duty, protecting the British producer against the foreign producer, is a protective duty. But many classes of goods cannot be profitably raised in this country, no matter what protection they may be given, for example, tea, coffee and rice. The imposition of duties upon these articles can therefore make no difference to a home producer ; and the only direct effect of such a duty is to raise revenue for the Government's Exchequer. A duty on a class of goods which cannot be raised in Britain is consequently known as a revenue duty.

We are now in a position to understand a distinction vital to our subject, namely, that the imposing of revenue duties does not necessarily mean that a country is Protectionist : as a later section of this chapter will show, by 1860 Gladstone had made Britain a completely Free Trade nation by removing all protective duties. but he still retained a number of revenue duties.

Mercantile Theory.

For centuries the accepted commercial policy of England was Protection, then commonly known as the Mercantile Theory. At the basis of this policy were two main ideas. First, money was regarded as being itself wealth. Hence, if foreign goods entered the country and were paid for with money, the country became correspondingly poorer. To prevent this, heavy customs duties were levied so as to encourage—and, sometimes, to enforce—the purchase of home-produced goods. Second, England's island-position made imperative her production of at least the staple articles of food so that in time of war she should not be starved into surrender. Great pains were therefore taken

to promote corn-growing. In 1689 an Act granted a bounty of five shillings on every quarter of wheat exported if the price in England was less than forty-eight shillings. The idea behind this Act was that, given the right stimulus, England could produce more than enough corn for her own needs. During the following century this gradually ceased to be true: the Industrial Revolution meant that agriculture was no longer the staple industry of the country, and the growth of the population increased the demand for corn. By the end of the eighteenth century, Britain had become definitely a corn-importing country. Only a very few enlightened men were awake to the fact or its significance.

Allied to this desire of making England self-sufficing in time of war was the policy of fostering English shipping so as to ensure a ready supply of seamen. This had been attempted by a series of Navigation Acts—the best known being Cromwell's of 1651 and Charles II's of 1660—which enjoined that all goods coming to England must come either in English ships or in the ships of the country producing the goods. (The Navigation Acts contained also clauses which regulated colonial trade; but this is not part of our present purpose.) These Acts undoubtedly had the desired effect of stimulating English shipping, but they had also given to English shippers almost a monopoly of the carrying-trade to and from these shores. Hence, when the Industrial Revolution brought an enormous expansion of overseas trade, the shippers could charge high freights which raised the price of raw materials imported for British manufacturers and of manufactured goods exported to foreign markets.

"Wealth of Nations", 1776.

These were the conditions prevailing when, in 1776, a Scottish professor, Adam Smith, published his book the *Wealth of Nations*. He flatly contradicted the two bases of the Mercantile Theory. First, he claimed that coins in

themselves were valueless; that a nation's wealth consisted of goods wherewith to supply her needs, money being of use only as a medium helping in the exchange of goods; and therefore that a nation's object should be to obtain as much wealth as possible in the form of goods, no matter whether these were produced at home or abroad. This last conclusion he reinforced by his attack on the second Mercantilist tenet: he pointed out that international trade was only an elaborate form of barter in which the goods which some members of a nation sold abroad were balanced by goods which other members bought abroad, money being little more than a standard of value necessary to adjust the transactions. Hence, though hindrances to imports might encourage British industries in the home market, they depressed British trade in foreign markets because if foreigners did not sell goods to Englishmen neither could they buy goods from Englishmen.

Adam Smith pointed out that in any factory the condition of efficient production was specialization whereby each worker became expert in one particular operation. He believed that this principle was equally applicable to countries; that each country was adapted by nature to produce certain classes of goods and that the wealth of the world and of each nation would be greatest if each was allowed to specialize as nature directed. This would be best achieved if all governmental regulation of trade were removed and if business men were allowed to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest. This policy of leaving trade alone and unregulated came to be known as *laissez-faire*.

In Adam Smith's own day the younger Pitt had been deeply impressed by the *Wealth of Nations* and had begun to put its principles into practice by simplifying the customs and by a commercial treaty with France in 1786. In the nineteenth century there were four Ministers especially associated with the Free Trade movement, Huskisson, Peel, Gladstone, and Joseph Chamberlain. The first three

did their best to promote, and the last tried to defeat, it. We have now to trace the work of each of them in turn.

2. WILLIAM HUSKISSON, 1770–1830

Huskisson became President of the Board of Trade in 1823, when Liverpool's Ministry was reconstructed. He had previously had considerable political experience in various minor governmental posts and had shown a firm hold of financial and economic principles. His adhesion to Adam Smith's theory was perhaps due to his connection with William Pitt whom he had followed loyally until Pitt's death in 1806.

Financial Conditions.

As President of the Board of Trade, Huskisson needed all his economic sagacity and all his statesmanship. The financial condition of the country was desperate. The commercial reforms of Pitt's early years had been shattered by the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars. To raise the money to pay for the War, Pitt had adopted one expedient after another in a piecemeal fashion until the financial system was chaotic. Duties were levied on hundreds of goods under the terms of scores of Acts of Parliament; the amount raised by many of them was negligible, while the cost of collecting them was considerable; and their most obvious result was to encourage swarms of smugglers all round the coasts and a network organization for the distribution of smuggled goods throughout the country.

The difficulty in approaching the problem was to know where to begin. High prices, due partly to the duties, accentuated the widespread distress; yet if the removal of the duties encouraged foreign competition in the British market, would not the distress be increased? Further, there was the practical difficulty that the class which benefited from the customs duties was that of the land-owners and manufacturers, and they were the people with votes, whereas the poor who suffered from high prices were

politically powerless. Two examples clearly illustrated this aspect of the situation. The first was the 1815 Corn Law [1] which forbade the import of foreign corn until the price of English corn stood at eighty shillings a quarter: the regulation was eagerly passed by a House of landowners who thus ensured that corn-growing would still be profitable on the inferior land put under the plough during the War, though the effect would certainly be to raise prices to a starvation level. The second was the repeal of the income tax which Pitt had first imposed in 1798. So great had been the opposition to the tax that Pitt had been able to secure its passage only by pledging its repeal immediately the War should be over. Consequently, as soon as peace was signed, both Tories and Whigs demanded the removal of the income tax, and in 1816 Liverpool's Government was compelled to allow its abolition. The Exchequer thus lost a lucrative source of revenue, and that revenue could be made up only by increasing the indirect taxes. These, in contrast to direct taxation, would be paid mainly by the poor who already were reduced near to starvation. Worse still, indirect taxation—that is, customs duties—would raise even further the barriers against imports and therefore would reduce exports, and so fresh unemployment would be created. Such was the economic condition of Britain when Huskisson became President of the Board of Trade in 1823. In the same year, Robinson had become Chancellor of the Exchequer; he and Huskisson worked together to rectify the evils of the financial and trade regulations, though the general policy and the initiative were mainly Huskisson's.

Huskisson's Reforms.

First the *Navigation Acts* were modified. The Reciprocity Act of 1825 authorized the signing of Treaties with foreign countries so that ships of a foreign nation should be able to carry goods to a British port and should have

[1] Chapter I, Section 1.

advantages in the rate of duties if that nation reciprocated by giving similar privileges to British ships. Agreements made under the terms of this Act encouraged shipping without giving to British shippers their former monopoly. Ultimately, the competition which they had to face stimulated their enterprise and therefore benefited the shipping industry.

Second, Huskisson began to practise the principles which he had learned from Pitt in respect of *Customs Duties*. Huskisson was a warm supporter of Adam Smith, but though a Free Trader he did not wish to abolish all import duties. His aim was to bring order into the customs chaos and to reduce the rates of the existing high, and often prohibitive, duties so that they should be revenue producing, and only incidentally protective, in character. This was the policy which Huskisson and Robinson gradually began. The result was a marked impetus to British industries and a decline in smuggling, since smuggling ceased to be worth while when the duties were lowered.

The third item of Huskisson's work was of greater interest as foreshadowing future policy than for its immediate results. A beginning was made with *colonial preference*, that is, certain classes of goods paid a lower tax if imported from British colonies than if from foreign countries. We shall see that the tariff proposals of Joseph Chamberlain were in the first place only an elaboration of this idea.

The last item of Huskisson's work to be noticed was his attempt to mitigate the harsh effects of the 1815 Corn Law. His difficulty was that Parliament, as constituted before 1832, would not pass any measure that was likely to injure agriculture. The problem therefore was to devise a scheme which would reduce the price of corn without seriously diminishing the profit of the landowners. Huskisson's solution was to modify the 1815 Corn Law, with its complete prohibition of foreign corn unless the price of English corn was at least eighty shillings a quarter, and to sub-

stitute a *Sliding Scale* of duties. The scheme was that when the price of English corn was low, a heavy duty should be imposed on imported corn, but that only a nominal duty should be paid when English corn was dear; between the two extremes, the rate of duty would vary inversely with the price. In 1827 this proposal was passed by the Commons, but so severely did the Lords amend the Bill that Canning, as Prime Minister, withdrew it. Next year, however, Wellington, now Prime Minister—that is, after Huskisson had resigned—carried a measure almost identical with that of Huskisson. The Sliding Scale did something to reduce corn prices, but it had the serious disadvantage of encouraging speculation in corn: farmers and merchants would store corn until the price, influenced by the duty, made a sale attractive, and then they would flood the market.

Huskisson's career was cut short by an unfortunate accident. In September 1830, at the opening of the Manchester and Liverpool Railway, he was knocked down and killed. Thus Grey's Ministry, formed only two months later, was deprived of Huskisson's skill in facing the legislative problems which were awaiting solution.

We ought now to be in a better position to understand the statement in the opening paragraph of this chapter that though the Whigs, during their decade of power beginning in 1830, instituted many reforms, they made no attempt to deal with the Corn Laws. Nor did they make any reform of the customs system. This was due not so much to their being fully occupied with social changes but to their lack of a statesman with outstanding ability in national finance. Conditions therefore changed steadily for the worse. Whig reforms cost money—for example, the abolition of slavery cost £20,000,000—and, since the income tax had been abolished, this money was raised by again adding piecemeal to the indirect taxes, until the limit of profitable taxation was reached. Resort was therefore had to loans. Each year the interest payable upon

them increased, and each year the national debt increased until bankruptcy seemed to be approaching. This was the condition of national finances when Peel formed his famous Government in 1841.

3. SIR ROBERT PEEL, 1788–1850

The Ministry, 1841-1846.

At last Britain had a Cabinet determined to grapple with the financial ills which were threatening to drive her to bankruptcy and worse. Peel was pre-eminently the man for such a time. He was, indeed, one of the greatest Prime Ministers in British history. Not only was he gifted with sound statesmanship of the highest class, not only was he industrious almost to a fault, but over all the departments of State he exercised a controlling oversight which enabled him to co-ordinate the work of the various Ministers in a manner unparalleled in modern times either before his own day or since. Moreover, he had gathered an exceptionally able Ministry, including three future Prime Ministers, namely, Lord Stanley the Colonial Secretary, Lord Aberdeen the Foreign Secretary, and Mr. W. E. Gladstone the Vice-President of the Board of Trade. Subsequent ministerial changes brought Gladstone to the Cabinet as President of the Board of Trade in 1843 and as Colonial Secretary in 1845. The Ministry was further strengthened by the support of a large majority in the Commons, and of the nation's confidence in the Conservative policy formulated in the Tamworth Manifesto. It dealt decisively with O'Connell's demand for Irish Home Rule.[1] The Mines and Factory Acts of 1842 and 1844 [2] improved the conditions of thousands of children, young people and women. Most important of all was the Government's financial and customs legislation.

[1] Chapter VI, Section 2.
[2] Chapter III, Section 2

Budgets, 1842 and 1845.

The two most famous budgets of the Ministry were those of 1842 and 1845; and so much importance was attached to their provisions that Peel himself, and not his Chancellor of the Exchequer, introduced them in the Commons. Peel believed with Adam Smith that the surest way of increasing national revenue was to remove the haphazard customs duties whose chief effect was to hinder trade. He found that twelve hundred duties were being levied, and of these he swept away about seven hundred and fifty. Even those that he retained were drastically lowered, the principle which he adopted being a maximum tax of 5 per cent on raw materials and of 20 per cent on manufactured goods.

Though Peel was confident—and managed to inspire others with his confidence—that the resulting increase in trade would swell the income derived from those customs which did remain, he saw that the desired increase would not take place immediately. To bridge the gap, he proposed in 1842 that for three years an income-tax of sevenpence in the pound should be levied on all incomes of over £150. He believed that at the end of the three years the country's prosperity would have improved so much that the tax could be remitted or at least reduced. Nothing demonstrates Peel's influence over his own party more than the passage of this unpopular tax. At the expiration of the three-year period—that is in 1845—the signs of returning prosperity were so obvious that the tax was renewed for a further three years. The country's hope that the income tax was only a temporary expedient was, however, doomed to disappointment: in every budget since it has been reimposed.

Bank Charter Act, 1844.

In the meantime, financial confidence had been still further strengthened by the reform of the Bank of England. The Bank had been founded in 1694 as a way of inducing moneyed men to lend to William III the sum of £1,200,000

Those who did so were given a charter for twelve years authorizing them to form the Company of the Bank of England and to be the only corporation in London to issue bank-notes. Changing circumstances, particularly of war and peace, led to several banking Acts during the eighteenth century, but no serious change was made in the constitution of the Bank of England until its charter was due for renewal in 1833. In that year the charter was renewed for a further twenty-one years, though the Government was to be allowed to terminate it after eleven years by giving one year's notice. The Bank's monopoly of issuing notes within a sixty-five mile radius of London was confirmed, though Joint-Stock banks were allowed within that area to do banking business other than that of the issue of notes; one-third of the value of notes issued by the Bank was to be kept in gold; and the Bank was to publish a weekly statement of the amount of its notes and deposits.

During the years following 1833, a large number of banking houses started business outside London. Many of them lacked both adequate capital and sound direction, and the trade depression of the thirties caused wholesale failures, which in turn caused still further distress. Peel therefore determined that at the earliest possible moment the position of the Bank of England should be made even more secure. Under the terms of the 1833 Act, this moment would occur in 1844, and in that year he carried the *Bank Charter Act*, sometimes known as the *Currency Act*. The Bank was divided into two departments, one of which was to do the ordinary business of banking under the control of the Bank Directors, and the other was to issue notes under statutory regulations. The Bank of England was to be allowed to issue notes to the total value of £14,000,000 against securities; for every note issued above that amount, the Bank was to have bullion in its coffers. No new note-issuing bank was to be established, and the amount of notes issued by banks already in existence was strictly limited.

During succeeding financial crises these terms have several times been suspended. Nevertheless the 1844 Act has remained the foundation of the security and usefulness of the Bank which has become the pivot of British (and, in large measure, of world) finance. Not only has it a unique position because of its note-issue monopoly; it is also the banker of the other banks and of the Government.

Anti-Corn-Law League.

By the time the Currency Bill of 1844 and Peel's Budget of 1845 were on the Statute Book, the Ministry was on the verge of its greatest crisis, namely, that connected with the Corn Laws. In 1838 there was formed in Manchester an association to agitate for the repeal of the Corn Laws. The Chartist movement also began in 1838, but whereas the Chartists were mainly poor men demanding political rights, the Anti-Corn-Law League was supported by manufacturers and merchants who believed that Britain's refusal to import foreign corn was injuring British trade, first in the home market because the exorbitant price of food left the worker no money to spend upon other articles, and second abroad because the foreigner neither would nor could buy British goods. The funds subscribed to the League were used in order to send lecturers through the length and breadth of the land and to broadcast leaflets by the thousand. A few years earlier such propaganda would have been impossible: the development of railways and of the penny post (1840) put into the hands of the League new weapons of which it availed itself to the full.

The two outstanding leaders of the Anti-Corn-Law League were *Richard Cobden* and *John Bright*. Both of these men were of humble origin and had attained to prosperous positions through hard, persevering work. After throwing in their lot with the League, they lived in great public meetings. Cobden had a wonderful gift for clear, cogent presentation of facts, and Bright was an orator who appealed to the heart and imagination of his audience.

Together on a platform they were irresistible. In 1841 Cobden was elected to the House of Commons, and two years later he was joined there by Bright. They made every debate the opportunity to propagate their doctrines, showing how every political question had an economic background and that there would be no health for the State until Britain had cast off her Corn Law shackles. Their impression upon the House steadily deepened until in 1845 Peel, listening to one of Cobden's speeches, crumpled up the paper on which he had been making notes for a reply, turned to the man next to him on the Treasury Bench and said: "You must answer this, I cannot." The truth was that though Peel was the Conservative Prime Minister, he did not properly belong to the Conservative Party. The Tories were traditionally aristocratic landowners, but Peel's father had been a Yorkshire manufacturer, so that, in spite of the change of name from "Tory" to "Conservative", by temperament and upbringing he had much more in common with his Whig opponents than with his Conservative supporters.

Irish Famine, 1845.

Then in 1845, just as Peel was being compelled to realize the strength of the League's case, circumstances obliged him to act. The summer and autumn of that year had been exceptionally wet, and the continuous rain ruined the English corn crop, while a blight destroyed the entire potato crop of Ireland. In England the high prices of corn had for years prevented bread from being a staple part of the food of the poor, so that the failure of the harvest did not make a serious difference to them; but the Irish peasant ate potatoes in one form or another at nearly every meal, and the disaster to his crop meant starvation, especially as the peasant had no reserves of capital to tide him over the emergency or even to buy seed for the next season's sowing. Relief funds were at once opened to meet the urgent need for food and were

liberally supported; public works were started in order to give employment; and Peel imported maize. But Peel knew that such measures would not be sufficient. The Irish people would need food in 1846 as well as in 1845, and the only source of supply—since the English corn crop had failed—was to open the ports to foreign corn.

Corn Laws Repealed, 1846.

Before the famine, Cobden's arguments had convinced Peel that the Corn Laws would sooner or later have to be repealed. The famine determined that it should be sooner. Early in November Peel met his Cabinet and announced his decision: irrespective of theories about Free Trade and Protection, the Irish situation was such that the Corn Laws must be abolished. Only a few of the Ministers supported him, and in December Peel resigned. The Queen sent for Lord John Russell, now the leader of the Whigs, to form a Government. But Russell found that many of the Whig landowners were no more ready for repeal than were the Tories, and, rather than cause division in his party, he declined the invitation.

Peel was therefore compelled to remain in office and, regardless of the result upon the Conservatives, to push on with repeal. The landowning section of the Conservative party—by far its most numerous section—were obdurate against repeal, and received unexpected help from the leadership of young Benjamin Disraeli who used his skill in sarcastic invective to embitter the rank and file of the Conservatives against their "great betrayer" Peel. Consequently when the Corn Bill, for the abolition of the Corn Laws, came before the Commons in May 1846, it was carried by the votes of the Irish Members, the majority of the Whigs and the minority of the Conservatives against the majority of the Conservatives. The Bill finally passed the Lords in June.

The results of repeal were not long in showing them-

selves. During the famine there had been a certain amount of disorder in Ireland, and a Coercion Bill was introduced to enable the Government to deal with it. On the same day as the Lords passed the Corn Bill, the Commons defeated the Coercion Bill, and Peel forthwith resigned office. He was succeeded by Lord John Russell at the head of the Whigs. Only seventeen years had elapsed since the Tory party had been split over Roman Catholic Emancipation,[1] and Peel on that occasion also had been the leader of the party in the Commons, the Duke of Wellington being Prime Minister. Small wonder that the Conservative opponents of repeal regarded Peel as a traitor. The epithet was, however, entirely unjust, for it overlooked the fact that he had wrecked himself as well as his party. Peel had become convinced by what to him was the unanswerable logic of circumstances, and he was prepared to sacrifice his own political existence in order to carry a measure necessary for the nation's welfare. Peel placed what he believed to be the interests of the nation above those of his party and of himself. But no party could suffer two such shocks unmoved. Peel and his followers, though still nominally Conservatives, gravitated more and more towards the Whigs, and the amalgamation of Peelites and Whigs was to produce the Liberal party of which the Peelites provided its greatest leader—William Ewart Gladstone. The Conservative Rump was bereft of leaders except Benjamin Disraeli who set himself to repair the fortunes of the party and, in doing so, of himself. The next chapter will show that he was nearly thirty years in achieving his ambition.

4. W. E. GLADSTONE, 1809–1898

Our immediate interest in Gladstone is to see how he maintained the tradition of his political tutor, Peel. The Repeal of the Corn Laws was the climax of the Free Trade movement: much spade-work had already been done by

[1] Chapter II, Section 2.

Adam Smith, Huskisson, and Peel himself; but the repeal did more than any other event to focus public opinion upon the general question of Free Trade and to educate the nation towards the establishment of complete freedom of trade in other commodities besides corn. The man responsible for carrying to its logical conclusion the principle involved in the repeal of the Corn Laws was Gladstone. In Lord Aberdeen's Ministry of 1852–1855, and in Lord Palmerston's of 1859–1865, Gladstone was Chancellor of the Exchequer. One of his budgets in each of these Ministries was especially noteworthy for its Free Trade proposals, namely, that of 1853 and of 1860.

Budget, 1853.

Like Peel, Gladstone believed that the surest way of increasing the national revenue was to promote prosperity by removing customs duties. From more than one hundred articles, therefore, he removed all duties, and the duties on more than one hundred others were drastically reduced. In one respect he went further than Peel, for at the same time he planned to abolish the income-tax. That tax stood at sevenpence in the pound. For two years it was to stand at that figure; for the next two it was to be sixpence; for the next three it was to be only fivepence; and after that (1860) it was to cease altogether. The proposal was defeated by events over which Gladstone had no control: in 1854 the Crimean War broke out, and the Exchequer could not afford to remit taxation.

Treaty with France, 1860.

Although in the Crimean War Britain and France had been allies, during the years that followed, relationships between the two countries tended to become embittered—not an infrequent occurrence between former allies, both before the Crimean War and since—and the friends of peace began to be anxious. Among these was Cobden, who urged upon the Government that the interest of France

and Britain should be drawn together by a commercial treaty. Cobden hoped in this way to serve the cause of Peace and of Free Trade alike. Gladstone agreed to the principle, and Cobden, although not a member of the Ministry, was sent to France as an unofficial representative of Britain. The resulting arrangement is consequently known as the "Cobden Treaty". Its provisions were, on the one hand, a reduction of French customs duties on certain British manufactured goods (notably hardware and textiles) entering France, and, on the other, the abolition of English duties on French manufactured goods and the reduction of duties on French wine and brandy.

Budget, 1860.

In one respect the "Cobden Treaty" affected the financial proposals of the same year. The Budget removed all the remaining customs duties except those on forty-eight articles, these being retained primarily for revenue rather than for protective purposes. Britain thereby became definitely a Free Trade country, and the work of Adam Smith, Huskisson and Peel was carried to its due conclusion. But the treaty with France would seriously diminish the Exchequer receipts and, although in 1853 Gladstone had hoped that the income-tax would be abolished, he found himself compelled to raise that tax from ninepence in the pound to tenpence.

As an offset against this, Gladstone proposed to remit the excise duty on paper. The effect of that duty had necessarily been to raise the cost of all books and journals, and Gladstone rightly dubbed it a "tax on knowledge". In those days each of the main proposals of the Budget was submitted to Parliament in a separate Bill, and the remission of the paper excise was submitted in the *Paper Duties Bill* of 1860. This passed the Commons by a small majority but was defeated in the Lords. Gladstone was furious, and was prepared to challenge boldly the Lords' power to reject a financial measure. For the moment,

milder counsels prevailed. Next year, however, Gladstone had his revenge. In 1861 he placed all his financial proposals (including the repeal of the Paper Duties) in one measure. When this had passed the Commons it went to the Lords to be accepted or rejected *en bloc*. Though the procedure was without precedent, the Lords did not dare to reject the whole Budget, and so the Paper Duties were repealed. This method of presenting all the Government's financial projects in one Bill has been followed ever since.

Incidentally we may notice that also in 1861 Gladstone established the *Post Office Savings Bank*, an institution which has been of incalculable value in encouraging thrift among persons who hitherto had no ready means of investing small sums. Gladstone was certainly right in regarding the organization of the Savings Bank as one of the soundest of all his financial achievements.

The improvement in prosperity which followed the successive steps of the country towards Free Trade gradually converted even the staunchest of its former opponents. Disraeli at the height of his power made no attempt to revert to Protection. Free Trade became the accepted and unquestioned fiscal policy for Great Britain as surely as the Mercantile Theory had been until half a century earlier. Yet nothing is so dangerous in politics as prophecy. Little more than a generation had passed after 1860 when a protective policy found a doughty champion in Joseph Chamberlain. Though his activities concern the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, this is a convenient place at which to deal with their relationship with Free Trade.

5. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, 1836–1914

Early Career.

Joseph Chamberlain was a member of a large-scale hardware business in Birmingham and gained his first experience of public affairs in municipal work for that city of which

he became mayor in 1873 and held office for the three succeeding years. His keen, enterprising policy in Birmingham won for him a nation-wide reputation, and when he became one of his city's Members of Parliament in 1876 he was quickly marked out for advancement. In Gladstone's Ministry of 1880–1885, Chamberlain was given Cabinet rank as President of the Board of Trade. The most urgent political questions of the day were those connected with Ireland.[1] Gladstone tried various measures to restore peace and prosperity to that country, but all were alike in vain. It was the adverse Irish vote which in June 1885 defeated his Budget and so caused his fall. When he returned to office after the 1886 Election he was convinced that the only solution of the Irish problem was to grant the Irish demand for Home Rule and he introduced a Bill for that object. The immediate result was to split his own party. Ninety-three Liberals, though agreeing with the general policy of their chief, refused to vote for Home Rule; and among them was Joseph Chamberlain. This group, advocating the maintenance of the Union of Ireland with Britain, was known as the Unionists and, as time passed, its members became more and more closely identified with the Conservatives.

The foregoing account of domestic politics explains why Chamberlain, having started life as a Radical Liberal, became one of the leaders of Conservatism. In Lord Salisbury's Government of 1895, Chamberlain accepted office as Colonial Secretary. This was the decisive step in his career. He was already interested in colonial matters, and the office of Colonial Secretary was his own choice. Henceforward the Empire was the dominant political passion of his life. When, in 1902, Lord Salisbury was compelled by ill health to resign and was succeeded in the Premiership by Mr. A. J. Balfour, Chamberlain remained at the Colonial Office. Our study of Imperial history will show the part Chamberlain played, especially in connec-

[1] Chapter VI, Section 4.

tion with South Africa.[1] Here we are concerned only with the way in which his policy for the Empire affected the fiscal policy of Great Britain.

Tariff Reform.

Chamberlain's view was that Britain placed too low a value on her Empire, and that an effort ought to be made to develop, both in the colonies and at home, the idea of Imperial unity. He believed that trade could be made the unifying link between the scattered parts of the Empire, including the Motherland. To foster such trade, he conceived the idea of allowing the colonies to trade with Britain on more favourable terms than those allowed to foreigners. In 1903 he resigned from the Ministry in order, untrammelled by the restricting responsibilities of office, to develop his Imperial policy and to advocate its adoption by the country.

The chief difficulty which he had to overcome was the practical one that, since customs duties had been swept away in Britain, lower duties could not be levied upon Imperial than upon foreign goods. In other words, if a system of Imperial Preference was to be established, Britain must cease to be a Free Trade country. This is the point at which Chamberlain's Imperial policy is linked to our present subject of Free Trade. Chamberlain was thus compelled to think out a new tariff scheme for the country, and this scheme was known as Tariff Reform. Its essential feature was that moderate customs duties should be levied upon imports from foreign countries in order that lower duties, or no duties at all, might be levied upon goods from colonies.

Here Chamberlain met the further difficulty that, as Britain's chief imports from the colonies were foodstuffs, Imperial Preference would necessitate food-taxes which would inevitably cause a rise in food-prices. Also, the industrialists, not seeing why the farmer alone should

[1] Chapter XIV, Section 3.

benefit, began to claim a preference for manufactured goods also; and before long the Tariff Reformers were driven step by step to advocate a system of all-round customs-duties not differing in essentials from Protection.

Whatever may have been the merits or demerits of Chamberlain's policy as an Imperial ideal, its political weakness was that the wage-earners were antagonized at the prospect of food-taxes by which they would chiefly be affected; nor were they convinced by the Tariff Reformers' answer that in protected industries employment would increase and wages would rise; the improvement of employment was regarded as problematical, and experience had shown that wages always rise more slowly than prices.

The matter came to a head in the Election of 1906. Somewhat reluctantly, and not very clearly, Mr. Balfour had adopted Tariff Reform as the policy of the Conservative party. The result astounded all parties alike. The Liberals were returned to power with 387 seats, while the Conservatives had only 158. To this must be added the fact that the 41 Labour Members and the 84 Irish Nationalists were also Free Traders. Chamberlain's policy had evidently received a crushing blow. But the policy was not dead. The Conservative party still retained it. At each succeeding Election (except the War Election of 1918) the question between Free Trade and Protection was one of the issues. But not until the Election of 1931, in the midst of a financial crisis, did Protection gain anything like national support. A National Government was returned to office with a mandate to adopt any policy it deemed wise for the restoration of the country's financial stability. Consequently, protective duties were imposed, preferential treatment being allowed to members of the British Empire. Thus Chamberlain's policy, though suffering immediate defeat, was at last adopted.

CHAPTER V

DISRAELI AND GLADSTONE

JUST as the political interest of the early half of the nineteenth century centres around the struggle over the first Reform Bill and the resulting outburst of legislation, so the interest of the latter half of the century centres around the persons of Disraeli and Gladstone and the mass of legislation which they inspired. The purpose of this chapter is to summarize their careers and to explain their significance. Most of the facts here mentioned either have been dealt with in detail in earlier chapters or will be dealt with later in the book; but it will be convenient to gather them together so that we may grasp their relationship to one another and to the main thread of the history.

In nearly every respect—in education, temperament, political principles, attitude to life—Disraeli and Gladstone were in sharp contrast the one to the other. In only one respect can they be properly compared, namely, that each was the outstanding figure of his own party. Two such men inevitably clashed and dominated the political stage. For forty-four years—from Disraeli's first entrance into the House of Commons in 1837 until his death in 1881—the political lives of the two men overlapped. Disraeli was by five years the older man and he died seventeen years before his rival: we shall therefore summarize his career first.

1. BENJAMIN DISRAELI, 1804–1881

Early Career.

Disraeli's father, Isaac D'Israeli, belonged to a Jewish family which had migrated to England from Italy. By dint of persistent struggle, he had achieved considerable success as a man of letters, a circumstance which doubtless had its influence upon his famous son. In 1817 Isaac broke from the Jewish faith and had his children baptized into the Christian Church.

Benjamin's early years were spent at home. His education was of a desultory and not very regular kind: he attended a private school but seems to have occupied much of his time in reading literature of every kind. Thus, though he acquired what may be fairly described as considerable culture, his mental training was wide rather than deep or exact. As a youth he was articled to a firm of solicitors, and there seemed some likelihood that he would find a permanent career in the law. In 1826 his first novel appeared. This was followed—after a lapse of three years during which the author was travelling in the East—by a number of others whose appearance in rapid succession evoked much public attention. Disraeli's flashy dress and extravagant manner also made him something of a notoriety about town. Meanwhile, he had been cherishing political ambitions, and in 1837 he entered the House of Commons as one of the Members for Maidstone. This marks the beginning of his real life's work, though throughout his life he continued at intervals to write novels, mostly with a political flavour: *Endymion*, the last of them, appeared as late as 1880.

Disraeli's early efforts in the House did not promise great success. His maiden speech, couched in flamboyant language and delivered in a bombastic manner, provoked hilariously derisive laughter; above the din, the would-be orator was heard to declaim: "I have begun several things many times, and I have often succeeded at the

last. . . . I sit down now, but the time will come when you will hear me." This early utterance was typical of Disraeli: what other men would never have predicted about him he achieved by audacious self-confidence. While still unsuccessfully contesting elections, before representing Maidstone, he had assured Lord Melbourne that he had every intention of becoming Prime Minister!

Conservative Leadership.

Disraeli's first political adherence as a Tory was to Sir Robert Peel. So confident was Disraeli of his own worth and of the favourable impression he had made on his party, that, when Peel formed his 1841 Government, Disraeli waited to hear what office was to be offered to him. When he found himself without even the most minor post, his chagrin was so bitter that he never forgave Peel for what he regarded as a slight. Though Peel recognized something of the young man's extraordinary ability, Disraeli's manner was too artificial to inspire the Prime Minister with confidence in him. When the repeal of the Corn Laws was mooted in 1845, Disraeli had his chance for revenge and he gladly joined the two hundred and forty Conservatives who voted against repeal, for in so doing he was not only voting against a Bill of which he disapproved but was also voting against Peel. But the Conservative split over the Corn Laws was Disraeli's opportunity in a larger sense than that of mere personal revenge. Though the Conservatives who followed Peel numbered less than half those who remained behind, the Peelites included all the former party-leaders, so that the official Conservative party was a leaderless Rump. The only exception was Lord George Bentinck. Bentinck was a typical aristocratic Tory squire to whom the repeal of the Corn Laws, with its implied threat to the prosperity of agriculture, was anathema; and upon him fell the nominal leadership of the party. But though Bentinck might retain the confidence of the unyielding Tories, he was not the man to

win the enthusiasm of the mass of the electors. Nor was a leader all that the Conservatives lacked: they needed a programme. The vast majority of the people had been won over to Free Trade, and a party that still adhered to the Corn Laws and to the policy of Protection which those Laws implied had no prospect of being returned to power.

In both these respects Disraeli was the man of the moment. He was the only man of genius in the party: of this he was fully aware, and he set out deliberately to exploit the Conservative disaster in order to achieve his ambition of becoming the party-leader and hence, ultimately, Prime Minister. Further, his was the only genius which could produce a political programme likely to win an election. Disraeli's difficulty was that that programme must win the assent not only of the majority of the nation but of the Conservative party as it existed in 1846; and it was the latter aspect which was the more difficult of the two. His first task, therefore, was to reshape—or, in his own words, "to educate"—his party. Peel had already set that process in motion by the issue in 1835 of the "Tamworth Manifesto" and the substitution of the label "Conservative" for that of "Tory". Disraeli's work was to develop the process until he had built up the Conservatives into a great party which should be entrusted with the government of the nation. Disraeli began this task in 1846 and did not achieve it until 1874. Three times between those two dates there were Conservative Ministries in office, in one of which Disraeli was Prime Minister for a few months: but though in office they were only temporary stop-gaps without power. Not until 1874 did Disraeli lead his party triumphant from the polls to enjoy several years of real power. The measures which that Ministry succeeded in getting passed by Parliament enable us to gauge the amazing transformation which Disraeli had wrought. Those measures will be reviewed in the course of this and other chapters. One excellent

example has been mentioned already, namely, that although the old Tory party had fought uncompromisingly against the first Reform Act of 1832, the second Reform Act of 1867 was the work of the new Conservative party. The Conservative party as it exists to-day is the greatest monument to the memory of Benjamin Disraeli.

Political Character.

Notwithstanding Disraeli's intellectual pre-eminence, he was at first by no means readily acceptable to the rest of his party. The traditional mainstay of the Tories had been the aristocratic, land-owning families in whose eyes young Disraeli was a Jewish upstart. That he lived down this prejudice, finally becoming the idol of the party of the British aristocracy, is one of the many anomalies of his career and, further, is a remarkable tribute to his genius. If we ask why Disraeli originally devoted himself to the interests of the Tory party, the only answer we can find is that almost certainly he was prompted by little beyond personal ambition. In the wreckage of the party in 1846 he saw the opportunity for his own advancement. But we are unjust to Disraeli if we do not add that, after having set about his task, he became as genuinely and whole-heartedly devoted to the Conservative party as the party was to him. The principles of the party, as expounded in Disraeli's speeches, were to maintain the Constitution, to develop the Empire and to carry measures of social reform; and the facts of Disraeli's career show that he adhered to these ideals. Nevertheless, he remained always an opportunist in the sense that he allowed his decisions, both for himself and for the State, to be guided by the circumstances of the moment rather than by any preconceived principles.

In one other respect Disraeli was successful beyond any other man of his day, namely, in his relations with the Queen. Acting on the principle that she was a woman first and a monarch afterwards, he used every chance to

flatter her and to pay her compliments, and he did it all so graciously that he became the Queen's favourite Minister. The language which he used in addressing his Sovereign would appear highly extravagant to us ; but language that would have been extravagant to other people was natural to Disraeli : what mattered to him was that it achieved its purpose.

In 1861 an attack of typhoid fever had carried off the Queen's beloved Consort, Prince Albert. For a long while she remained inconsolable, and withdrew almost completely from public life, though she continued assiduously to discharge her official duties. Disraeli was one of the very few men who was able to break through the Queen's reserve and to whom, during this period of retirement, the Queen unbent.

Three Derby-Disraeli Ministries.

After Peel's enforced retirement in 1846, Lord John Russell became the Whig Prime Minister. His Government was followed in 1852 by the first " Derby-Disraeli "—commonly known as the " Derby-Dizzy "—Ministry, Lord Derby being Premier and Disraeli leader of the Commons and Chancellor of the Exchequer. This was also the first of the brief stop-gap Conservative Ministries ; Disraeli's Budget was defeated, and in December 1852 the party went out of power.

The second Derby-Disraeli Ministry entered office in February 1858. But, as the previous Ministry, under Palmerston, had been defeated on a temporary issue only, the Tories had no majority in the Commons. After a General Election early in 1859 they were still in a minority and therefore resigned.

Seven more years elapsed with two more Whig Ministries —now becoming known as Liberals—the first under Palmerston and the second under Russell. Then in 1866 came the third Derby-Disraeli Government which once again had to maintain itself in spite of an adverse majority in

the Commons. This Ministry was memorable for sponsoring the second Reform Act.[1] Disraeli believed that the political tide was beginning to turn, and he therefore determined to help it on. Russell's Government had fallen because it had not been able to obtain unanimity among its supporters for a Reform Bill which Gladstone had introduced into the Commons in 1866. Disraeli, knowing that an Election could not be long postponed, decided to promote a Bill which the Whigs would pass but for which the Conservatives would get the credit, his hope being that the electors whom the Act enfranchised would show their gratitude by voting for the Conservatives. In his own graphic phrase, he determined to "steal the Whigs' thunder." For once, Disraeli miscalculated badly: the Reform Bill became law in 1867,[1] but the Election of 1868 returned the Liberals to power with a majority of one hundred and twenty seats. Gladstone became Prime Minister and remained in power for six years. In February 1868, Lord Derby had been compelled by ill-health to retire from the Premiership. Disraeli then succeeded to the office and held it ten months, that is, until the Dissolution of December.

The long years of waiting between 1846 and 1874 had not been spent in vain. Apart from their effect in building up the Conservative party, they gave to Disraeli the opportunity of developing the amazing gift for sarcastic repartee which made him so inimitable and disconcerting a figure in debate. What could be more galling to a man like Peel who, in moving the Repeal of the Corn Laws, was actuated only by motives of highest national interest, than to be teased with "having caught the Whigs bathing and made off with their clothes"? Or what could be more devastating than Disraeli's description of the 1868–1874 Gladstonian Ministry, after it had exhausted its force in passing measure after measure of social reforms, as "a row of extinct volcanoes"? By such methods did

[1] Chapter II, Section 6.

he carry on debate. Disraeli's rhetoric was, indeed, of the kind which shone more brilliantly through the irresponsibilities of Opposition than in the more sober atmosphere of Government office.

Ministry, 1874-1880.

At last in 1874—that is, when Disraeli was seventy years of age—he achieved his ambition of leading his party into office not as a short, stop-gap body but with a sound majority in the Commons and with the prospect of carrying through a comprehensive programme.

Mention has been made already of Shaftesbury's Climbing Boys' Act (1875),[1] and of the 1876 Education Act.[2] In 1876, also, there was passed a Trade Union Act which will be reviewed later.[3]

Three other measures of the Ministry concern us here. First, the *Artisans' Dwelling Act*, 1875. Local authorities were empowered to purchase and demolish slum property, and to erect suitable dwellings in its place. This Act—which, like much of the domestic legislation of Disraeli's Ministry, the country owed to Richard Cross, the Home Secretary—was the first attempt to deal with the question of housing.

Second, the enforcement of the *Plimsoll Mark*. Samuel Plimsoll, one of the Members for Derby, had for many years been trying to arouse Parliament's concern for the dangers of sailors in the mercantile marine. The absence of governmental control enabled unscrupulous ship-owners to overload an unseaworthy vessel, to over-insure the ship and its cargo, to send it out to what was certain wreckage (heedless of the fate of the crew) and then to make a profit on the insurance money. Plimsoll had secured a Commission of inquiry in 1875, and this had reported in favour of legislation, but the crowded parliamentary time-table seemed to preclude the immediate introduction of a

[1] Chapter III, Section 2. [2] *Ibid.*, Section 3.
[3] Chapter VII, Section 3.

measure. Plimsoll, when he heard this, lost his temper: on the floor of the House he accused the Members of voluntarily sending men to death and of being in league with the ship-owners. The scene, deplorable in itself, acted as an advertisement for Plimsoll's cause. A Bill was quickly introduced and rushed through all its stages. Unfit ships were forbidden to proceed to sea; a mark on the vessel's side was to show the lowest level to which she was to be allowed to sink when fully loaded (this line is still called the "Plimsoll Line"); and the enforcement of these provisions was vested in the Board of Trade.

Third, Cross did further useful work in gathering together the various complicated and overlapping regulations concerning factories, and consolidating them in a *Factory Act* which was passed in 1878.

The remainder of Disraeli's activities between 1874 and 1880 was concerned with foreign and Imperial rather than with domestic matters. *Egypt* [1] was becoming a centre of European interest. In 1875 Disraeli bought, for the British Government, a large number of Suez Canal shares which were being sold by the Khedive of Egypt; this gave to Britain a controlling voice in the management of the Canal and hence a legitimate interest in Egypt. The Ministry was also responsible in 1879 for sharing with France the Dual Control of Egypt.

In 1877, owing to Disraeli's initiative, Queen Victoria was proclaimed Empress of India.

Fear of Russia was one of the determining factors of Disraeli's foreign policy. Russia's ambitions in the Mediterranean and her declaration of war against Turkey led Britain to the verge of war in Turkey's favour. Finally the *Congress of Berlin* (1878) [2] averted war: Disraeli himself represented Britain at the Congress and was its foremost figure. On his return, he claimed to have brought back "Peace with Honour" and was enthusiastically received. Also, suspicion of Russian designs upon India led

[1] Chapter XVIII, Section 2. [2] Chapter XVI, Section 5.

to interference in Afghanistan which provoked the Second Afghan War [1] of 1878–1880.

Earl of Beaconsfield, 1876.

Though Disraeli was naturally a vigorous man, the constant strain of political life was taking its inevitable toll. There was much doubt as to whether he could endure the stress of another political campaign and of continued leadership—in Opposition if not in office—in the Commons. Accordingly, in 1876 he had taken the title of the "Earl of Beaconsfield" and retired to the less heated political atmosphere of the House of Lords whence he continued to lead his party.

The General Election of 1880 resulted in a substantial Liberal majority, and Gladstone became Prime Minister. Beaconsfield survived only a few months longer. His death took place in April 1881.

2. WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, 1809–1898

Early Career.

Gladstone was the son of a wealthy Liverpool merchant. As a boy he was sent to Eton, and later he went to Christ Church, Oxford, where he achieved the rare distinction of a "Double First"—one First Class in Mathematics and another in Classics. He left Oxford in 1831, and at the first Election after the Reform Act, that is, in 1832, he was elected Tory Member of Parliament for Newark. The previous chapter has shown the early stages in Gladstone's parliamentary career: in Peel's 1841–1846 Ministry he held the posts of Vice-President of the Board of Trade (1841), President (1843), and Colonial Secretary (1845). In 1846 he followed Peel out of the Conservative party and became a prominent member of the resulting Liberal party. We have seen also something of his work as Chancellor of the Exchequer, particularly his Budgets of

[1] Chapter XI, Section 4.

1853 and 1860. Lord Palmerston was Prime Minister of the Liberal Cabinet of 1859–1865. In the latter year Palmerston died and was succeeded as Premier by Russell (formerly Lord John Russell of the first Reform Bill but in 1861 created Earl Russell in his own right, and therefore sitting henceforward in the Lords). Gladstone then acted as leader of the Commons. When the Conservatives were defeated at the polls in 1868, Gladstone was made Prime Minister.

Character and Policy.

When Gladstone learned that he was about to be invited to form a Ministry his comment was: "My mission is to pacify Ireland". His attempts to "pacify Ireland" will form part of the subject of our next chapter. What is of even greater importance was the declaration's revelation of Gladstone's own character: he was always a man with a "mission". As an orator, as a financier, as a party-leader Gladstone may have been equalled but has never been surpassed by any other British statesman. Further, while he was carrying the heaviest of State responsibilities, he was issuing learned works on theology and on the classics. His physique was amazing: his favourite pastime was wielding a great axe to hew down trees, and until the last few years of his life—he was verging upon ninety when he died—he remained as vigorous as in his youth. Yet it was neither his intellectual nor his physical prowess which distinguished Gladstone from other outstanding politicians, but his sense of a mission. To Gladstone every political question was at bottom a moral question, and his attitude on every issue was determined by his conviction about some principle involved.

This, of course, does not mean that he ignored details of political strategy, or that Gladstone's judgment was always right, or even that he could not be convinced by argument; but it does explain the intense fervour which

characterized his speeches and campaigns. And it explains also his bitter antagonism towards Disraeli whom he regarded as an unprincipled adventurer. One drawback of Gladstone's earnestness was that it stifled his sense of humour—which is at least as essential in politics as in any other walk of life!—and so made him an easy target for Disraeli's witty and caustic gibes.

Perhaps this same trait explains also Gladstone's uneasy relationship with the Queen. He was entirely loyal and dutiful towards his Sovereign; every day he wrote her elaborate despatches on current politics and policy, and he would expound at great length the details of the Government's proposals. In all this he assumed that the Queen shared his grasp of principles and politics: neither of these things was true. She complained that Mr. Gladstone addressed her as though she were a public meeting! The only result was that she became bored and, before long, frankly antagonistic.

The Liberal watchword of "Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform" summarizes admirably Gladstone's general policy. To complete the description we have to add his keen interest in the Church of England and, of course, in Ireland.

First Ministry, 1868-1874.

The Ministry of 1868–1874 was a strong team. A number of its members earned high political reputations for themselves in later years. Those who were to be most notable in this particular Ministry were, in addition to the Premier, Mr. W. E. Forster, Vice-President of the Council and therefore responsible for education, Mr. Edward Cardwell, the War Minister, and Mr. John Bright, the President of the Board of Trade.

The energy of the Prime Minister was reflected in the mass of Acts passed: indeed the outburst of legislation of the years immediately following the first Reform Act of 1832 has a close counterpart in the outburst following the second Reform Act of 1867. Forster's Education Act

of 1870 has been dealt with above ; [1] the Disestablishment of the Irish Church (1869) will form part of Chapter VI ; and the Trade Union measures of 1871 will be found in Chapter VII. Three other Acts passed between 1868 and 1874, not forming part of any larger subject, remain for mention at this point, namely, Civil Service Reform (1870) ; Army Reforms (the most important in 1871) and the Ballot Act of 1872.

Civil Service Reforms.

Until Gladstone's day, appointment to the Civil Service had depended not upon a candidate's suitability for a post but upon his interest with some influential person. When a Member of Parliament was appointed to a ministerial post, his relatives and acquaintances immediately tried to secure—either for themselves or for *their* acquaintances—lucrative posts in his department : if these posts were sinecures, bringing in an income but demanding little labour, so much the better. Small wonder that some of the members of the Service were intellectually unsuitable or that inefficiency was general. The system was so firmly fixed by tradition that few people seriously thought of altering it.

Yet slowly public opinion was being focussed upon the condition of the Civil Service. The skits of such writers as Dickens (in *Little Dorrit*, for example) began to have their effect. The subject was brought to a head indirectly by the Indian Mutiny (1857) : when Lord Derby's Act of 1858 reformed the government of India, it enacted that posts in the Indian Civil Service were to be filled according to the results of competitive examinations. The outcome was so encouraging that Gladstone's Government determined to instal a similar method at home. In 1870 an Order in Council introduced the system of appointment on the results of competitive examinations for all but the highest posts of the British Civil Service. The highest

[1] Chapter III, Section 3.

positions are still filled by nomination, but for them also a most careful choice is made. The result has been the building up of a body of Civil Servants whose efficient loyalty is one of the just sources of national pride.

Cardwell's Army Reforms.

The British army had not undergone any general overhaul since the Battle of Waterloo. The common idea seems to have been that an army that was good enough to beat Napoleon could hardly be improved! This attitude was confirmed by the all-but universal respect felt for the Duke of Wellington who had lived until 1852; and no one would have dreamed of touching the army while the Duke was alive. Two events combined to modify this attitude. First, the calamitous ineptitude displayed in the Crimean War (1854–1856) undeceived the nation as to the state of its army. Second, while the British army had been standing still, the Continental armies were being reorganized and supplied with the most efficient up-to-date equipment. Particularly was this true of Prussia; and when in 1866 Prussia smashed Austria in three weeks, and in 1870 smashed France as thoroughly if not as quickly, Britain became uneasy. Consequently Cardwell began a series of reforms which produced a new type of army.

The problems which he had to face were enormous. Not the least was the appointment of officers. The long-established custom was that on appointment an officer bought his commission and when he was promoted or resigned he sold it to his successor. A young man who wished to become an officer had first to obtain the consent of a colonel; when a vacancy occurred in the latter's regiment each officer bought a commission of higher rank (in order of seniority) and the young aspirant bought the commission thus vacant at the bottom. This method obtained for all grades of officers below that of colonel. There was no guarantee that the right men were appointed as officers or, therefore, that the senior officers—up to the

rank of colonel—were efficient. Cardwell's problem was to ensure efficiency in appointment and in promotion without too strongly antagonizing the army-class.

In the other ranks matters were but little better. Enlistment was for life. This meant that many of the soldiers were past their physical prime and so were unfit for overseas service in difficult climates. Also, the conditions of service were such as to attract only the lowest types of men : Wellington had graphically but justly declared that the British army consisted of the " scum of the earth ". The Prussian army-reforms had taken the shape of conscription whereby every youth, on attaining a certain age, was compelled to undergo a period of full-time military training. This method had its advocates in Britain too, but finally it was rejected because the distances which troops had to travel to oversea possessions made the very short conscriptive service impracticable.

The reforms which Cardwell introduced may be summarized as follows. First, the system of purchasing commissions was abolished : the Government undertook to compensate the existing holders by purchasing their commissions on retirement. In future, promotion was to depend upon merit. Second, short-service enlistment was introduced : men enlisted for twelve years of which six were to be spent with the colours and six on the reserve ; the reservists went into civil life but were liable to be called for service in time of war. This ensured an army of young men supported by a large (and inexpensive) reserve. Third, Cardwell introduced what was known as the " linked battalion " system whereby each regiment was composed of two battalions, one of which was to be serving overseas while the other was to be at home. The home battalion was to be maintained at full strength and was to supply drafts to fill gaps in the ranks of the oversea battalion.

Gradually these changes produced a new attitude in the army. Officers were encouraged in enterprise and

efficiency, and the shorter service among other ranks led to the enlistment of a better type of soldier.

Ballot Act, 1872.

In 1872 the Government carried a much needed voting-reform. The 1832 and 1867 Reform Acts had added large numbers to the electorate ; but the retention of the former voting-method made the vote little more than a farce to many of the newly enfranchised men. The votes were recorded openly so that a man's politics was public knowledge. Quite commonly a man who dared to vote for the party other than that which his master favoured would instantly lose his work. After a Royal Commission of 1869 had reported in favour of secret voting, and after the House of Lords had rejected a Bill for that purpose in 1871, an Act was finally passed in 1872 providing that parliamentary elections should be conducted by means of a secret Ballot.

This Act not only ensured a more just expression of the people's will : it tended greatly to diminish bribery, for no party was likely to expend the large sums necessary to turn the balance of an election now that there was no longer any means of knowing how individuals voted.

The numerous reforms for which Gladstone's first Ministry was responsible, beneficial though most of them were, created more enemies than friends. The Education Act of 1870 offended the Nonconformists (the Ministry's chief supporters) because it still favoured Church of England schools ; the Trade-Union Acts caused grave disappointment to the workers who found themselves still seriously handicapped in trying to make their combination effective ; the Disestablishment of the Irish Church alienated Church of England supporters ; the army-officer class regarded Cardwell's reforms as destroying the army. Also, Gladstone had agreed that a dispute with the United States of America over the *Alabama* [1] should be settled by

[1] Chapter XVII, Section 2.

arbitration; and when the neutral tribunal's award was issued in September 1872, though the Government accepted the findings, the country felt that Britain was unduly penalized. All these things combined to make the Government highly and generally unpopular. The immediate cause of its defeat in the Commons was a relatively trivial matter. In January 1874 Gladstone advised a dissolution of Parliament. He was disappointed by the ensuing Election which gave the Tories a clear majority, and Gladstone resigned office. Thereupon Disraeli entered upon his six successful years of power.

Gladstone's Second Ministry, 1880-1885.

Gladstone's second Ministry lasted approximately as long as his first, but it was of a very different character. Almost from the beginning things went wrong. In 1884 and 1885 the third Reform Act and the Redistribution Act were passed;[1] but every other subject which the Government touched brought disaster in its train. Though in most of these troubles the Government was the victim of circumstances over which it had but little control, the nation not unnaturally held the Government responsible. Of three matters especially this was true.

First, when Gladstone took office in 1880, a settlement with the South African Boers was awaiting completion; delay occurred, the Boers suddenly rose in 1881 and annihilated a British force at Majuba Hill, and Gladstone acceded to the Boers' demands for independence.[2] Majuba Hill administered to the prestige of the Government a shock from which it never recovered.

Second, Egypt was in a state of constant unrest. In 1884, General Gordon was sent to negotiate the withdrawal of garrisons from the Soudan, but the result was Gordon's death at Khartoum.[3] This was a second blow to the Ministry's prestige.

[1] Chapter II, Section 6. [2] Chapter XIV, Section 2.
[3] Chapter XVIII, Section 3.

The third source of trouble was Ireland. Gladstone's continued efforts to "pacify Ireland" effected the passage of a second Land Act (1881); but further disputes led to a breach between Gladstone and the Irish Nationalist Party.[1] In 1885 the latter combined with the Conservatives against the Government which therefore resigned.

Gladstone's Third Ministry, 1886.

A Conservative Ministry entered office under Lord Salisbury—upon whom Disraeli's mantle had descended—in June 1885. A General Election later in the year returned the Liberals to power, and for a third time Gladstone became Prime Minister.

Gladstone determined to solve the Irish problem by conceding Home Rule. This, however, caused a breach in his own party. Ninety-three Liberals—including Lord Hartington and Joseph Chamberlain—seceded from the party on the Irish question, and their votes, added to those of the Conservatives, defeated the Home Rule Bill of 1886. Once more Gladstone resigned office, and a second Salisbury Ministry took office.

As we have seen when studying the career of Joseph Chamberlain,[2] the secession of the anti-Home Rule Liberals was not a temporary move. At first they were known as "Liberal Unionists" and voted with the Conservatives only on the question of Ireland. Gradually the first part of their name was dropped and, under the title of "Unionists", they became allied more and more intimately with the Conservatives until they were absorbed by that party. This split—the third which Ireland caused in an English political party during the nineteenth century—weakened the Liberals so that they remained "in the wilderness" twenty years, that is, until the "landslide" of 1906.

In 1874 Gladstone had announced his definite retire-

[1] Chapter VI, Section 4. [2] Chapter IV, Section 5.

ment from the party-leadership, but the clash of political conflict was irresistible to him. In particular the Turkish cruelty in suppressing a Bulgarian rising in 1876—known as the "Bulgarian Atrocities"—called Gladstone from his retirement to demand that the British Government should intervene on behalf of the Christian Bulgars against the Turks: in pamphlets and in speeches he demanded that the Turk should be expelled from Europe "bag and baggage". Evidently his retirement was more nominal than actual. Though Lord Hartington had been chosen as Liberal leader, Gladstone was by so far the dominating figure in the Liberal party that when he re-appeared in 1880 he was once more regarded as its leader. Nevertheless, his resignation and resurrection were highly embarrassing to the rest of the party; for the position of any other leader was rendered almost intolerably uncertain. In 1886 Gladstone again resigned: he was then seventy-seven years of age.

The second Salisbury Administration adopted firm measures with Ireland, the Chief Secretary being Mr. A. J. Balfour. In England, Local Government was organized by the establishment of County Councils in 1888. After the Ministry had run its full term, a General Election was held in 1892. This had the result of making the eighty Irish Nationalist Members the decisive factor in the Commons: though the Liberals were in a minority, they and the Irish together could command a majority of thirty-nine votes over the rest of the House, that is, over the Conservatives and the Liberal Unionists.

Gladstone's Fourth Ministry, 1892-1894.

Gladstone determined once more to take office in order to carry through his "mission", and in 1892—he being then eighty-three years old—he became Prime Minister for the fourth time. His second Home Rule Bill was introduced in 1893, but was defeated in the Lords. Gladstone then abandoned hope of solving the Irish problem,

and in 1894 he retired from office for the last time, his death taking place four years later.

The Ministry was slightly reshuffled, and Lord Rosebery was given the Premiership. But a lengthy continuance in office of a Ministry dependent upon Irish votes was impossible, particularly as an adverse majority in the Lords would prevent the passage of Home Rule. In 1895, therefore, Rosebery resigned.

Third Salisbury Ministry, 1895-1902.

A third Salisbury Ministry took office with the combined support of Conservatives and Unionists. Salisbury was occupied chiefly by affairs abroad with which we shall deal in subsequent chapters. These events included the meeting of the first Colonial Conference in the same year as Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee (1897); Kitchener's reconquest of the Soudan and the dispute at Fashoda (1898); and the second Boer War (1899–1902).

The death of the Queen in 1901 marks more than the end of a long reign: it marks the end of an "age" in British history and brings us to the end of the nineteenth century. In 1902 Lord Salisbury resigned on account of age and was succeeded by his nephew, A. J. Balfour. This introduces us to the twentieth-century politics, the story of which we shall resume in a later chapter.

This chapter has aimed at summarizing the general trend of later nineteenth-century history and should be useful as a guide as we thread our way through the separate topics of that period both at home and abroad. We have now to consider the subject which already we have seen as a determining factor in British politics, namely, Ireland.

CHAPTER VI

IRELAND, 1800-1923

1. CONDITIONS, EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

Political.

THE nineteenth-century relationship between Ireland and England, disastrous for both countries alike, was in large measure a legacy from the eighteenth and even the seventeenth centuries. The policy of subduing Ireland by means of "plantations"—that is, by dispossessing the inhabitants of a disaffected area and giving their lands to Englishmen—dated back to the reigns of Mary Tudor and Elizabeth who had "planted" large tracts of Munster. James I had adopted similar methods in Ulster which, particularly around Belfast, became populated with Scots. Cromwell's system was slightly different: after subduing the country with great severity, he handed over considerable estates to Englishmen, but allowed the peasants to remain undisturbed to till the soil. At the time of the English Revolution of 1688, the Irish Roman Catholics had supported James II against William III. The latter's subjugation of Ireland had been followed by oppressive laws against the Roman Catholics. During the latter part of the eighteenth century the most severe of these laws were repealed, and in 1793 Roman Catholics were allowed votes for Members of the Irish Parliament which sat at Dublin. Renewed agitation, after the

French Revolution, culminated in an Irish Rebellion in 1798, with the result that Pitt determined to prevent future trouble by abolishing the Dublin Parliament, so bringing the country under the direct control of the British Government. Hence the Act of Union of 1800.

We have already seen the immediate effects of this Act.[1] George III's refusal to allow Pitt to honour the tacit pledge that Union would be followed by Roman Catholic Emancipation—that is, by allowing Roman Catholics to become Members of the Westminster Parliament—led to an agitation first for Emancipation and then for the repeal of the Act of Union. Emancipation was secured in 1829 as the result of Daniel O'Connell's campaign. This was regarded by the Irish as only a step towards the larger object; and throughout the nineteenth century, and on into the twentieth, there was continuous agitation for repeal, the movement being known in its later stages as that of Home Rule.

Religious.

The political problem was, however, only one of the difficulties between England and Ireland. Indeed, quite possibly the political problem would not have existed had there not been religious discontent behind it. Four-fifths of the people of Ireland were Roman Catholics, yet the Established Church was the Protestant Church of England. This seemed unjust in principle; but to the Irish the tangible grievance was that all cultivators, Roman Catholic and Protestant alike, were compelled to pay tithes to help support the Established Church. It was the association, in the minds of the Irish Roman Catholics, between the English Government and the alien Church which they were compelled to support, that intensified the bitterness between the two countries.

[1] Chapter II, Section 2.

Agrarian.

A third grievance which the Irish endured was also a legacy from earlier centuries. Many of the English owners of Irish lands lived in England. Their Irish estates were under the direction of a steward whose business was to wring as much as possible out of the tenants in order to supply his master with a large income. Absentee landlordism of this type always has deplorable results. When a landlord lives on his estate, part of the wealth that the land produces remains in the locality through the upkeep of his household; also the continuous personal contact between master and men tends to produce understanding and sympathy on both sides. Absentee landlordism, on the contrary, means that the wealth of the estate is steadily drained away to be spent elsewhere, and the tenants are regarded not as men but as rent-producers. In Ireland these effects were seen at their worst. The highest possible rents were wrung from farmers, both large and small; any man who improved either the land or the buildings of his holding found that his rent was raised because the steward could obtain the higher rent from a new tenant; and if the tenant refused to pay the higher rent he was ejected without receiving any compensation for any improvements he had made on the landlord's property. This insecurity of tenure was a grievance under which the Irish continually lived. Its result was that, in order to ensure that the steward should not obtain a higher rent from someone else, the farmers took care not to improve the condition of their holdings; instead, they contented themselves with obtaining from the soil only just sufficient to maintain themselves and their families. In consequence, large numbers of the people lived always on the verge of bankruptcy, so that any sudden calamity would drive them to ruin; and the condition of Irish agriculture was steadily deteriorating.

2. DANIEL O'CONNELL

Tithe War, 1831-1835.

The presence of O'Connell at Westminster, after the granting of Roman Catholic Emancipation in 1829, transformed the character of the Irish question as a factor in British politics. For the first time, the views of the Irish Roman Catholics could find direct expression in Parliament. Also, along with O'Connell was a group of other Irish Members, and if their numbers grew they would be able to exert a very real influence on the Government's policy. Their ultimate object was the repeal of the 1800 Act but, as they were not yet strong enough to secure its repeal, they contented themselves with aiming at the removal of other grievances. Their first onslaught was against the tithe, and while O'Connell in the Commons pressed for the abolition of tithes, the Irish peasants were violently refusing to pay them. The collectors of tithes were mobbed and sometimes murdered, and people who paid their tithes received little better treatment. The anti-tithe campaign was accompanied by such disorder that it came to be known as the "tithe-war". In 1833 a severe Coercion Act empowered the authorities to adopt the most stringent measures for the restoration of order: ordinary liberties were suspended, and the country was governed by martial law. Division of opinion between the Whig Ministers as to the renewal of the Coercion Act in 1834 was the cause of Lord Grey's resignation and hence of the fall of his Reform Bill Government.

In 1835 the Whigs came to terms with O'Connell in the "Lichfield House Compact", agreeing to govern Ireland sympathetically on condition that the Irish Members supported the Government. During Lord Melbourne's Government of 1835–1841, therefore, O'Connell was consulted about the appointment of officials in Ireland, and the situation was somewhat eased. An Act of 1838 shifted the payment of tithes from the tenant to the landlord.

The peasant was thus relieved of the direct payment of the odious imposition, though actually the landlord passed on most of the charge in the form of increased rent so that the peasant was but little better off than before.

Repeal Agitation, 1841-1843.

The return of the Tories to power under Peel in 1841 meant the renewal of Irish opposition to the Government. O'Connell determined upon a bold demand for the repeal of the Act of Union. He again conducted a great campaign of meetings through the length and breadth of Ireland, hoping that the creation of a national demand for repeal would be as successful as the similar demand for Emancipation had been in 1829. The attendance at the meetings was often enormous, but O'Connell's influence was such that they were perfectly orderly.

Peel determined to prevent the campaign from reaching a climax. In October 1843 O'Connell had arranged to address a great open-air mass meeting at Clontarf near Dublin. On the day before the meeting was to take place, Peel forbade it. O'Connell, always opposed to violence, obeyed the order. He and his chief supporters were then arrested, convicted of delivering seditious speeches, heavily fined and sentenced to a term of imprisonment. Many of O'Connell's followers interpreted his acquiescence in the Government's prohibition as a sign of weakness, and from that moment his prestige declined. A group of extremists was already urging more forceful methods, and O'Connell's apparent lack of spirit played into their hands. His power was completely broken, his health gave way, and in 1847 he died at Genoa on his way to Rome at the age of seventy-two.

3. FAMINE 1845, AND ITS RESULTS

Before the year 1845 was out, Peel found that the religious problem was being dwarfed by the economic problem of the potato famine. Some account of the famine

and of its reactions on English politics has been given as part of the story of Free Trade.[1] Here we are concerned with the famine's effects upon Ireland itself.

Economic Results.

The immediate results were only too evident. In spite of every effort that the Government could make to relieve distress—by opening up public works, allowing the free import of corn, organizing soup-kitchens, and the like—the poverty was terrible and the number of deaths enormous, probably half a million out of a total population of eight millions. Nor were the peasants the only class that suffered. The total failure of the potato crop was a crushing blow also to the landlords, of whom one-third were completely ruined.

The only hope for all classes alike seemed to be in escape from the poverty-stricken island, and emigration took place on a huge scale. The total population of Ireland diminished from eight millions in 1841 to six and a half millions ten years later. Some reduction of population was not necessarily an evil, since the small amount of productive land could not properly support eight million people. But this sudden shrinkage would produce fresh disaster unless it were stemmed: the economic life of the nation was upset, and in many districts almost the only people left were decrepit and aged. Unless some far-reaching scheme were devised, nothing but permanent disaster seemed ahead.

In 1849 the *Encumbered Estates Act* had been passed to facilitate the sale of land by embarrassed landlords. Its authors hoped that the land would be purchased by peasants who would thus gain an interest in the land on which they would settle instead of emigrating. The hope proved to be fallacious. The few peasants who did purchase had not been accustomed to responsibility or management, and hence they were for the most part

[1] Chapter IV, Section 3.

failures as independent farmers. Also, most of the property sold under the Act went to relatively rich men who treated the transaction as a speculation for profit : they had no personal interest in their new tenants from whom they either demanded higher rents or whom they evicted from their holdings in order to convert several small adjacent holdings into large sheep-runs. This policy of "clearances" therefore produced emigration and shrinkage of population on a greater scale even than before. Throughout the nineteenth century the process continued : in 1871 the population of Ireland was five and a half millions, and in 1901 only four and a half millions.

Smith O'Brien.

The disaster of the famine had had immediate political as well as economic effects. We have seen that O'Connell's moderation had offended a group of his more extreme followers who favoured methods of violence. These men found a leader in Smith O'Brien who belonged to an ancient noble Irish family and had been educated at Harrow and Cambridge. Though O'Brien was the nominal leader, several of his fellows were greater firebrands than he. In 1848, revolutions throughout Europe almost inevitably had their counterpart in Ireland. The O'Brienites raised the standard of insurrection, hoping that this would be the signal for a general rising of the peasants. They found themselves almost unsupported, were easily overpowered, and the leaders were transported to Australia.

Fenians.

Suppression was no solution of the problems of Ireland, and a recurrence of disorder was a question of time only. The next outbreak of violence was the worst of the nineteenth century. The great majority of emigrants from Ireland had gone to the United States of America where they were no longer under the British flag. There many of them prospered and nourished bitter resentment against

Britain which, in their eyes, was responsible for all the wrongs of their native country. In 1858 an organization was founded among the American Irish to promote vengeance against Britain by making Ireland an independent Republic. Agents were sent to Ireland, secret societies were founded all over the country, and soldiers were drilled and armed. The organization was called the Fenian Society, the name being derived from that of the bodyguard of Finn McCoul, one of the legendary kings of ancient Ireland. Fenian activities were financed from America, whence money poured in unstintingly. The Government was fully informed of what was taking place, and in December 1858 suddenly arrested a number of leaders. This move temporarily suppressed Fenianism in Ireland, but the movement remained fully alive in America.

The next stage was reached in 1865 when the Dublin offices of the Fenian journal, the *Irish People*, were raided by the police who arrested the publisher and stopped the issue of the paper. Further evidence of dangerous propaganda led, in 1866, to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act: the police were then able to arrest suspected persons and keep them in prison without trial if available evidence was not definite enough to secure conviction in a law-court. This action led to a marked reduction of Fenian activities in Ireland. Henceforward the centre of interest shifted to America and to England.

In 1866 some twelve hundred American Fenians crossed the frontier on a raid into Canada. This action might have had serious consequences: an armed expedition from one country into another might, unless good-will had prevailed, have produced friction and possibly war. Fortunately, the respective Governments maintained friendly relationships, the raiders were repulsed across the border, and no serious harm resulted.

In 1867 several outrages occurred in England. An elaborately planned raid by fifteen hundred Fenians was made on the large (and lightly guarded) store of arms

and ammunition in Chester Castle. The local authorities, happening to detect the preparations in time, took prompt action, and the raid proved a fiasco. In Manchester two Fenian suspects were being conveyed in a police van through the streets when forty of their fellows attacked the van. A skirmish ensued, and the police-sergeant, who refused to yield up his prisoners, was killed in the struggle; five men were put on trial and three executed. The most terrible of the outrages occurred at Clerkenwell prison where several Fenians were believed to be detained. In order to release them, a long stretch of prison-wall was blown up: houses were destroyed by the explosion, many persons were seriously injured and some were killed—but no Fenians were released!

The combination of firm measures by the Government and of repeated failure by Fenians to achieve any tangible result, caused the collapse of the movement. It had, however, acted as a huge advertisement for Irish demands and had led many Englishmen to inquire whether discontent that could express itself so passionately might need treatment other than mere repression. This was the general point of view of Gladstone who in 1868 entered upon his first and most successful Ministry.

4. GLADSTONE'S POLICY

Gladstone's view was that Ireland had two outstanding and genuine grievances, religious and agrarian; and he believed that if these could be redressed the Irish people would cease to agitate for repeal. His relationship with Ireland may be reduced to a sentence: he was willing to grant anything short of the repeal of the Act of Union but was to learn that the Irish cared for nothing except repeal.

Irish Church Disestablishment, 1869.

During the closing months of the Conservative Ministry of 1866–1868 Gladstone had moved resolutions in favour

of disestablishing the Protestant Church of Ireland. The passing of these resolutions by the Commons caused Disraeli to appeal to the country, hoping that the electors newly enfranchised by his 1867 Reform Act would return him to power. He was doomed to disappointment: the Liberals had a majority of one hundred and twenty-eight, and Gladstone became Prime Minister. He immediately introduced a measure on the lines indicated by his previous resolutions. The primary difficulty was that Establishment was inseparably linked with Endowment; that is, the enormous endowments which the Church enjoyed had been vested in her because she was the Established Church. Hence, if she were disestablished, logically she ought to lose her endowments and to rely—as the other non-established Churches did—upon the voluntary support of her adherents. This policy appeared to many members of the Establishment to be one of bare robbery and it gave to the Government's opponents the opportunity to raise the cry of sacrilege. Fortunately, Gladstone was known to be an illustrious member of the High Church party in England, and no one could accuse him of being moved by a spirit of vindictiveness towards the Protestant Church in Ireland: had he belonged to any branch of Nonconformists, or to no religious body at all, the whole question might have been invested with more intense bitterness than it actually was.

In March 1869 Gladstone introduced a Bill to disestablish, and partially to disendow, the Established Church in Ireland. The measure quickly passed through all its stages in the Commons and went to the Lords. There it met with much opposition, but finally was passed though with drastic amendments. After prolonged negotiations a compromise was agreed upon, and in July the measure became an Act, though it was not to come into operation until 1st January 1871.

The Established Church was put upon the same level in the eyes of the law as the other Churches in Ireland.

Irish bishops ceased to sit in the House of Lords. About one-half of the endowments were untouched, and the other half were to be applied to purposes which would benefit the nation as a whole, such as infirmaries and schools for deaf, dumb and blind folk.

On the Church itself the Act had a bracing effect: its adherents, realizing as never before their responsibility to support it, placed a new value upon their Church-membership. But no such success can be claimed for the Act as a solution to the general problem of Ireland. Though one of Ireland's deepest grievances was thus removed, her people were no nearer being "pacified" than before. They interpreted the Act as only an instalment, and promptly asked for more. The removal of one grievance merely allowed the Irish to concentrate more intensely upon the removal of others.

First Land Act, 1870.

Gladstone next set himself to deal with the difficulties connected with Irish land-owning. By personal interviews and by enormous reading, he made every effort to get a right understanding of the problem. Finally, in the year following the Irish Church Act, he introduced the first of his Land Bills. It provided that a tenant evicted from his holding for any reason other than the non-payment of rent was to be compensated by his landlord for disturbance; that compensation should be paid to an outgoing tenant for any improvements he had made, courts being established to assess the value of such improvements; and that the Government would lend money to a tenant who wished to purchase his holding, provided, of course, that the landlord was willing to sell. Without serious opposition the Bill passed through all its stages in both Houses and began to be put into operation.

The Act was a thorough and sincere attempt to tackle one of the basic problems of Ireland. Yet in practice it was only moderately successful. No Act of Parliament

could cure the shortage of cultivatable land, which resulted in keen competition among the peasants for holdings. This was the real explanation of the high rents; and, no matter how high a rent the landlord was receiving for a holding, he could always find peasants willing to promise to pay a still higher one—whether they would be able to fulfil their promise or not—especially if the existing tenant had improved the farm. Hence the first two of the three clauses mentioned were commonly evaded by an agreement between owner and tenant—under another clause of the Act—to waive their respective duty and right of compensation; the clauses led also to endless disputes because the hardship caused by disturbance, and the value of improvements, were almost impossible to assess in money. The third clause operated only rarely because owners were not usually willing to sell.

Evidence of the failure of the 1870 Land Act to "pacify" Ireland was afforded by the passing of a stringent Coercion Act before the year was out, and in 1871 of a still more severe one allowing the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in particular districts where, in the opinion of the authorities, disorder made the step necessary. Most significant of all was a meeting at Dublin in May 1870 to inaugurate a national campaign demanding a separate Government to manage the internal affairs of Ireland. This was the beginning of the Home Rule movement, though that name was not given to the organizing society until three years later. Within a year or two, Home Rule candidates were winning parliamentary seats, and a new stage in the Irish question was beginning. Meanwhile, Gladstone was tackling other aspects of that question, particularly the matter of education. In 1873 he promoted a Bill to establish in Ireland university education without a bias towards any particular Church; but both Roman Catholics and Protestants disliked this solution, and the Bill was defeated. It was this defeat which in 1874 led to Gladstone's resignation; and he was compelled to post-

pone further attempts to fulfil his "mission" until his second Ministry in 1880–1885.

Parnell. 1873 — 80

By the time that Ministry began, the Irish problem had been transformed by the emergence of a new leader, Charles Stuart Parnell. Parnell belonged to a land-owning English family resident in Ireland. He had been educated at English schools and at Cambridge University, but was determined to see the wrongs of Ireland righted. In 1875 he became Member of Parliament for Meath. His first attempts at public speaking, both before and after election, failed completely owing to paroxysms of nervousness; but his determination was such that he gradually overcame his difficulty and learned to speak cogently, though he never became an orator. Among his fellow Irish Members he soon established himself as a force to be reckoned with.

His method in the Commons was simple. He planned to obstruct all other parliamentary business until the House gave consideration to the needs of Ireland. This was done not by disorder—which was contrary to Parnell's principles, and in any case would have defeated its object—but by arranging with other Members to maintain a long succession of speeches about whatever subject was under debate. He began this plan in 1877 during Disraeli's Premiership. All-night sittings became common, yet even so the business of the House was seriously impeded and the Government's time-table dislocated. In 1879 Parnell became the leader of the Irish Nationalist party, and during the following ten years he was one of the dominant factors in British politics. In February 1881 the Speaker of the House of Commons countered Parnell's obstructionist tactics by intervening in a debate and, on his own responsibility, putting to the vote the motion under discussion. This was the beginning of the modern rules of debate whereby a time-table of parliamentary business is drawn up and votes are taken according to that time-

table whether individuals wish to prolong the discussion or not, this system being known as the "Closure" and—in a more stringent form—the "Guillotine".

In Ireland, Parnell's influence was hardly less than in Parliament. An Irish patriot named Michael Davitt had, in 1879, founded the *Land League* to promote propaganda in favour of land reforms. The League itself was a peaceful organization both in aims and in methods; but many of its members intimidated unpopular persons, and the League did nothing to discountenance such outrages. Parnell did not favour these unlawful methods but, realizing that the Nationalists in Parliament would be powerless without the organized support of the Irish people, he accepted the Presidency of the League. At the end of 1879 he propounded a new project for bringing pressure against unpopular landlords: he urged that any landlord who evicted his tenant, and any man who took over a holding from which the previous tenant had been evicted, should be "sent to Coventry". The first man against whom the system was enforced was a certain Captain Boycott: hence, both then and ever since, to have no dealings with a person or with goods became known as "boycotting". In Ireland such a man received neither letters nor stores, his servants disappeared, and he was unable to sell his goods in the market. Coercion by this method was far more effective than by physical violence, and Parnell and the Land League became the masters of Ireland. Such was the situation when in 1880 Gladstone formed his second Ministry.

Ministry, 1880-1885.

Gladstone was scarcely in office before he renewed his efforts to end the agrarian cause of unrest in Ireland. He brought forward proposals which became the *Land Act* of 1881. This measure was a serious attempt to get to the root of the trouble. It provided for the erection of Land Courts which were to fix the rent of every holding, and a

tenant who paid this rent could not be ejected provided he kept the land in a satisfactory condition. The landlords thus virtually ceased to "own" their land: they became merely the receivers of rent which had been assessed by an independent tribunal. Even this second Land Act did not bring peace: Parnell and his followers were dissatisfied with the way in which it was administered, and outrages continued.

Gladstone did his utmost to gain the good-will of Ireland. Early in 1882 two new Irish officials were appointed, Earl Spencer as Lord-Lieutenant and Lord Frederick Cavendish as Chief Secretary. Both these men were highly respected for their uprightness, fair-mindedness, and devotion to duty, and there seemed some prospect that, if they could gain the support of moderate Irish opinion, a happier period might be beginning. But these hopes for Ireland —as so often both before and since—were doomed to disappointment. In May the two new officials went to Dublin. On 6th May, the very evening of their arrival, Cavendish and Edward Burke, the Under-Secretary, were walking in *Phoenix Park* in Dublin when they were set upon by a gang of assassins and done to death. Parnell, of course, was in no way connected with the crime, and no one denounced it more passionately than he. Almost all Ireland disapproved the outrage. Nevertheless the hopes of peace were dashed. A new Coercion Act was passed, and for the remainder of the Ministry the Irish problem advanced no nearer towards solution.

First Home Rule Bill, 1886.

At last Parnell grew tired of waiting for the Liberals to act. Negotiations were opened between him and the Conservatives, and the latter promised to end coercive measures if they were returned to power. Accordingly, in 1885 the Irish Nationalists combined with the Conservatives to vote against the Budget; the Ministry was defeated, and Gladstone resigned. Lord Salisbury became Prime

Minister until the new voters' register could be prepared in accordance with the third Reform Act and the Redistribution Act. The Election later in the year gave to the Liberals a majority of eighty-four which was almost exactly the number of Irish Nationalist Members, and they therefore held the balance. This result brought to a head a conviction which had been slowly forming in Gladstone's mind, namely, that there was no permanent solution of the Irish problem short of Home Rule. When he announced this decision to his Cabinet, there was a sharp division. Lord Hartington, the leader of the Whig section of the Liberal party, refused to support the Prime Minister; so did Joseph Chamberlain, prominent among the Radical wing; and so did John Bright who feared to place the Protestant minority at the mercy of the Roman Catholic majority in Ireland. Bright's defection was the most serious of all; for he was the spokesman of the English Nonconformists who were the Liberal mainstay in the constituencies.

Gladstone nevertheless persisted in his policy, and in April 1886 he introduced his first Home Rule Bill into the Commons. Its main provisions were that Ireland should have a Parliament of two Houses to legislate for her internal affairs but that the British Parliament should retain its control of the Navy, the Army, coinage, customs duties, and foreign affairs, but Irish Members were to be allowed to sit at Westminster when matters affecting Ireland were under discussion. The Bill was dead from the moment of its first introduction, and on its second reading was rejected by a majority of thirty. The defection of ninety-three Liberals, including some of the party-leaders, made any other result impossible. Gladstone immediately dissolved Parliament, and the General Election which followed was equally decisive against Home Rule: while the Irish Nationalists retained the same number of seats as before, the Liberals held only 196 against the Conservatives' 315. Gladstone therefore resigned and Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister for the second time (1886–1892).

Balfour's Secretaryship.

Universal astonishment was caused when he appointed his nephew, Arthur J. Balfour, to the unenviable position of Chief Secretary for Ireland. Balfour had been regarded as an intellectual but indolent youth who might lend lustre to his party but who was not suitable for the rough-and-tumble of politics. Events soon proved that, whatever his appearance, he was made of stern stuff. He introduced the severest Coercion Act ever applied to Ireland. In order to avoid sending men accused of outrages for trial before juries (who refused to convict), such offenders were to be brought before magistrates who could be removed by the Government. Balfour undertook to support with the utmost vigour of the law the magistrates who fearlessly did their duty. Moreover, this Coercion Act, unlike its predecessors, was to be permanent. Even strong Conservatives were aghast at the Act's extremity ; some moderate Conservatives, like the Liberals, regarded it as going too far ; and the Irish Nationalists were savagely furious. Balfour remained unyielding and managed to reduce Ireland to something like order ; but in so doing he had but suppressed, and not eradicated, the Irish hatred of England.

His policy was supported by *The Times* newspaper which in 1887 published a series of articles called *Parnellism and Crime*, intended to show that Parnell was at least in agreement with, if not responsible for, the policy of violence whereby British rule had been opposed in Ireland. One of these articles contained a facsimile reproduction of a letter purporting to have been written by Parnell a few days after the Phoenix Park murders of 1882 and approving the atrocity. Parnell declared the letter to be a forgery and demanded a committee to examine the facts. Finally Salisbury appointed three judges to form a commission. The hearing lasted on into 1889, 450 witnesses being called. Towards the close, Parnell's counsel put Richard Pigott

into the witness-box: Pigott was a poor journalist who, in cross-examination, was compelled to confess that for the sake of payment he had forged the letter. Next day he was not to be found. The police traced him to Madrid, where he committed suicide to avoid capture. Parnell was completely vindicated. A reaction in his favour —and therefore in favour of his policy—set in; many Conservatives began to turn against the Government's repressive measures; and there seemed some prospect of support for Gladstone's Home Rule.

Then, suddenly, history repeated itself: the rising hopes for Ireland were dashed down. In November 1890 a decree of divorce was granted in the Courts to Captain O'Shea against his wife. O'Shea had been the friend of Parnell, but Parnell was cited as the co-respondent in the case and he did not defend himself. Immediately a cry against him arose. The Nonconformist supporters of Gladstone denounced any dealings with such a man and demanded that all alliance between the Liberals and the Irish Nationalists should cease until the latter had deposed Parnell from his leadership. Gladstone had to decide whether he would allow a man's private life to determine his public position. Two factors affected Gladstone's verdict: first, the threatened loss of his own supporters; second, his own ingrained conviction that every political question is really a moral question. As a result, Gladstone severed himself from Parnell. Even the Irish party was split, and, though Parnell retained a large personal following in Ireland, his position of predominance was at an end. In 1891 he died heart-broken.

Second Home Rule Bill, 1893.

The political effect of Parnell's fall was that the reaction that was beginning in favour of sympathetic treatment for Ireland was checked. The 1886 Parliament was drawing to its natural close, and of late Gladstone had begun to hope that the next Election would give him

the substantial majority he needed in order to secure Home Rule. But, when the Election came in 1892, the country was so divided in its mind that Gladstone's majority, instead of being a hundred as he had reckoned, was only forty-six, even including the Liberal Unionists. Thus the Irish Home Rule party, numbering eighty, controlled the Commons.

Gladstone was now eighty-four years old, and though he showed amazing vigour for such an age, he knew that his time must be short and, anxious to fulfil his mission before his death, he was no sooner in office than he began to prepare his second Home Rule Bill. The measure was presented to the Commons in February 1893. Its general provisions resembled those of the earlier Bill. The details of its debates need not concern us because, as everyone realized at the time, the Bill's passage through the Commons was little more than a farce: the Commons gave it a majority of about forty but the Lords rejected it by a majority of nearly 380.

Clearly the only way to ensure the success of a Home Rule Bill was first to deal with the House of Lords. This was a step for which the country was not then ready and, in any case, would have been a task too long and immense for Gladstone to have undertaken at his advanced age. Recognizing that his political life was at an end Gladstone resigned office in March 1894 and died four years later.

The Liberals remained in office under Lord Rosebery as Prime Minister; but the composite nature of their majority in the Commons made their position extremely precarious, and in 1895 the Ministry resigned.

5. TWENTIETH-CENTURY IRELAND

Position after Gladstone.

The passing of Gladstone marked the end of a notable stage of Irish history. The first Home Rule Bill had caused a Liberal split which was to take twenty years to

heal and no further Irish reforms on a large scale were likely until the Liberals were returned to power. England's verdict on Home Rule was given unmistakably in the 1895 Election: the Unionists (that is the Conservatives and the former Liberal Unionists who had by this time made a definite alliance together) had 411 seats and the Liberals only 177. The Irish Nationalists, numbering only eighty-two, were now powerless. The only condition which would allow the Irish party to exert a determining influence upon British politics was that the other two parties should be so evenly balanced that the Irish could bargain for legislation. In the 1902 Parliament, the Conservatives, though they lost a few seats, had a majority of 130 over Liberals and Irish Nationalists combined. In 1906, though the position as between the two larger parties was reversed, the Irish were still powerless, for now the Liberals had a clear majority over all other parties. Not until 1910 did the Irish again hold the balance: the Liberal majority of two (or forty-two if the Labour vote is included) made the Asquith Government dependent upon the Nationalists, and Home Rule therefore became once more a live issue. Also, the factor which had finally thwarted Gladstone was about to be removed, namely, the opposition of the House of Lords which then contained a permanent Conservative majority. In 1911 the Parliament Act [1] modified the power of the House of Lords to prevent the enactment of a measure for which the Commons had a mandate from the nation.

Third Home Rule Bill, 1912-1914.

In 1912 the third Home Rule Bill was introduced. Ireland was to be governed by a Lord Lieutenant appointed by the Crown; a Senate elected by a system of Proportional Representation; and a House of Commons. Forty-two Irish Members were to sit also at Westminster. The powers of the Dublin Parliament were, of course, to

[1] Chapter IX, Section 3.

be limited to internal Irish affairs. The Bill was rejected by the Lords but, having passed the Commons three times in three consecutive sessions, in accordance with the terms of the Parliament Act, it received the royal assent and so became law in May 1914, notwithstanding the opposition of the Lords.

Yet once again events seemed to be combining to cheat Ireland of her hopes. The Protestants of Ulster declared that they would not accept severance from Britain, partly because of their attachment to the political union for its own sake, and partly because they feared the effect upon themselves of handing power over to the Roman Catholic majority of Ireland—"Home Rule is Rome Rule" was one of Ulster's watchwords. In this opposition, Ulster was led by Sir Edward Carson, Conservative Member for Dublin University in the House of Commons. At Belfast, in September 1912, Carson inaugurated a Covenant whereby thousands of Ulster Protestants bound themselves not to recognize a Home Rule Parliament. Under his direction, the Ulster Volunteers were formed; this body, ultimately numbering 100,000 men, drilled openly, imported arms secretly (mostly from Germany), and declared "Ulster will fight" to defend Protestantism and the Union. Their challenge to the Government, if persisted in, could have only one issue, namely, civil war. Asquith did his utmost by negotiations and by suggesting concessions, to avert the disaster, but in vain. Ulster, believing that nothing could overcome her resistance, remained obdurate. As the time for the final enactment of the Home Rule Bill drew nearer, the situation became more and more tense, and the Government's repression of the illegal Volunteers could not be long delayed. Excitement was raised to a still higher pitch when, in March 1914, the officers of the Curragh Camp tendered their resignations because they expected to be sent to fight the Volunteers. The imminence of a civil war in which Ulster would be supported by the British Army caused Southern Ireland to protect itself

by organizing a body of National Volunteers similar in its methods to the Volunteers of Ulster. The situation was getting completely beyond control. In June 1914 King George V, on his own initiative, summoned a Conference of leaders to meet at Buckingham Palace. But the time for such methods was past: even if any responsible leader had agreed to compromise, his followers would promptly have rejected the agreement, and the Conference broke up having achieved nothing. Matters were in this state when the outbreak of the Great European War in August 1914 dwarfed every other consideration. Both Ulster and Southern Ireland agreed to a truce, and the immediate tension was relieved.

Sinn Fein.

The relief was only temporary. Parnell's successor as leader of the Irish Nationalists was John Redmond, a Roman Catholic of moderate views and of real oratorical powers. Redmond had succeeded to a task of extreme difficulty, but his wise and steadfast leadership gradually healed the breaches in his party which again became a unified body. Ireland, however, had always contained an extremist element which had desired nothing less than complete severance from Britain and the establishment of an Irish Republic. Men who held these views were naturally not hampered by any sense of loyalty to Britain; and the British preoccupation in the War seemed to provide an opportunity for the achievement of their aims. Accordingly, an organization called Sinn Fein ("Ourselves Alone") was formed to secure the establishment of a Republican Government. In 1916 the Sinn Feiners declared that they were the "Provisional Government of the Irish Republic". During Easter week of 1916 a serious rebellion broke out in Dublin. The rebels relied upon German help, and Sir Roger Casement—an Irishman who had had a varied career in the British Consular Service and who had gone to Berlin early in the War—was landed in County

Kerry from a German submarine. He was arrested, tried for high treason and hanged in August 1916. This was all the help that the rebels received from Germany : they were suppressed, and the leaders executed. The latter became thought of as martyrs, and the influence of Sinn Fein steadily grew. A fair index of this influence was provided at the 1918 Election when no less than seventy-three Sinn Fein candidates were returned to Parliament.

Irish Free State.

Mr. Lloyd George, who was the Prime Minister of a Coalition Government, introduced a fourth Home Rule Bill which differed from the previous ones by proposing two parliaments in Ireland, one for Ulster and one for the South. This solution was accepted by Ulster but rejected by Sinn Fein. The result was a terrible war between the forces of the British Government on one side and of Sinn Fein on the other. Finally in 1921, the Prime Minister offered to recognize Ireland other than Ulster as a self-governing Dominion within the Empire, of equal status, that is, with Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. The more moderate Sinn Fein leaders accepted these terms, but then found that they had to suppress by arms their own extreme element. Not until 1923 was peace secured. Ulster remained part of the United Kingdom, though under a separate " Government of Northern Ireland ".

With this establishment of the " Irish Free State " our story of Ireland is brought to a close.

CHAPTER VII

TRADE-UNIONISM AND THE LABOUR PARTY

1. COMBINATION ACTS, 1800–1825

Rise of Trade-Unions.

A TRADE-UNION is an association of workpeople, belonging to one trade or craft, organized together for the purpose of improving their standard of life by substituting collective bargaining for individual bargaining with their masters.

Such associations were the product of the Industrial Revolution. While industry was in the domestic stage, national organization of all the workers in any craft was neither possible nor urgent. Men worked together in small groups in the workshop attached to the house or the retail shop of their master; each worker agreed upon terms with his master, and each group of workers might be separated by many miles from others of the same craft. The coming of factories transformed the situation: on the one hand, the conditions under which the factory-hands had to work were only too often unfit for human existence, and the widespread unemployment caused by machinery drove down the wages of those who were employed; also, the association of workers in large numbers in factories facilitated their organizing for the removal of grievances. Accordingly, during the closing years of the eighteenth century there was an outburst of trade-unions. For the most part these were small local bodies which only occasionally joined into anything resembling a national organization.

Yet, slight though these unions were, they aroused apprehension for two reasons. First, the factory-owners were afraid that if labour were organized, profits would be reduced, and the owners therefore brought pressure to bear upon the Government to prohibit organizations of workers. Second, at the close of the eighteenth century, the French Revolution led to the formation in England of societies for the propagation of revolutionary ideas. Some of the trade-union organizations bore close resemblance to these revolutionary societies, and this was used as an additional argument for their suppression.

Combination Acts, 1799 and 1800.

In 1799, therefore, Pitt introduced a measure which forbade combinations of workpeople to increase their wages or in any way force terms upon their masters. Combinations of masters to reduce wages were also prohibited. In the following year the Act was modified in certain details, and the two Acts together are consequently known as the Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800.

Though in theory the Acts applied impartially to masters and men alike, in practice they were enforced against the men only. When workpeople were suspected of organizing, they were brought before the local magistrates, and a Bench of two magistrates could commit such offenders to prison. But the magistrates, if not themselves personally involved in the case, belonged to the employers' social class and hence were prejudiced against the workpeople. Moreover, the workers, if they gathered to take action against their masters, were certain to be detected, whereas the relatively few masters could easily agree together to force down wages without any outside person's being aware of it. If the workers did suspect a breach of the Combination Act, they were too ignorant, too poor and too feebly organized to institute legal proceedings against their masters; and even if the latter had been accused, their condemnation by a magistrates' Bench cannot be imagined.

Hence the Combination Acts operated solely against the workers who were thus placed at the mercy of their masters.

The theory advanced in favour of the Combination Acts was that of *laissez-faire* which we have met already in connection with Free Trade: the workers' organizations to increase wages were regarded as an interference with the freedom of industry—which would achieve its maximum prosperity only if "left alone"—that is, in the commonly accepted phrase, they were "in restraint of trade" and hence were a menace to the prosperity of the nation. What the supporters of this view either could not or would not appreciate was that the workers were also part of the industrial machine and that to prevent them from following what they considered to be their best interests was also an interference with the freedom of industry. It was along this line, and not as the result of social agitation and riots, that the first effective attack was made upon the Combination Acts.

Combination Acts Repealed, 1824.

Francis Place [1] was the organizer of this attack. He was not actuated by any desire to facilitate strikes. On the contrary, he believed that when once the ban on trade-unions had been removed they would function without either the need or the desire to take drastic action, and his antagonism towards the Combination Acts was due to their violation of the theory of *laissez-faire*. Place was never a Member of Parliament, and he therefore worked in conjunction with an enthusiastic friend who was a Member, namely, Joseph Hume. Place devised a cunning scheme whereby the offending Statutes were to be repealed, and Hume was instrumental in carrying it into effect. We do well to remember that these schemers had to deal with the old, unreformed House of Commons.

In 1824, Hume contrived to get a Commission appointed by Parliament to inquire into the working of the Com-

[1] Chapter II, Section 1.

bination Acts. A considerable proportion of the members of the Commission were favourably disposed towards the workers, and the witnesses called on behalf of the workers were drilled by Place and Hume in facing and answering the kind of questions that the Commission would ask them. The result was that a Report was made to Parliament to the effect that the Combination Acts had caused serious friction between masters and men, had thereby impeded industry, and ought to be abolished.

On the basis of this recommendation, in 1824 Hume took advantage of a set of measures relating to industry which were then being considered by the House of Commons: unobtrusively he moved a resolution that to these measures there should be added clauses repealing the Combination Acts. Huskisson was the Minister responsible for the legislation in question. As a liberal Tory, he was sympathetic towards the workers, but he had misgivings that the total repeal of the Acts was too drastic. Nevertheless he accepted the clauses, and the Commons, before realizing the full significance of its action, voted in favour of the Bill which soon became an Act. Thus in 1824 the Combination Acts were repealed.

Act, 1825.

The confidence of Place and Hume that this would end the friction between employers and workers was soon shown to be false. They did their utmost to restrain the men who for so long had been oppressed. But their efforts were in vain: all over the country strikes and threats and violence against masters became common. The workers —ignorant, inexperienced and without capable leaders— thought they had only to strike and their masters would be cowed into granting any terms demanded. They were quickly undeceived. The masters' resources enabled them to hold out indefinitely; but the workers, without any adequate funds on which to draw for support, were reduced to starvation at the end of a very short period and so were driven back on their masters' terms.

This foolish, though quite natural, action enabled the employers' representatives in Parliament to point to the dangers of repealing the Combination Acts, and in 1825 another Act was passed modifying that of 1824. By its terms, trade-unions were allowed, but any attempt to induce a workman to join his fellows in concerted action against a master, and any attempt to bring pressure to bear upon a master, were punishable by law. Thus, though a trade-union was not illegal, anything done to enforce the wish of its members by means of a strike was forbidden. In this unsatisfactory condition the legal position of trade-unions remained for half a century.

Notwithstanding the restrictions, from time to time isolated bodies of men broke out against their conditions. In 1830, for example, the farm-labourers of several southern counties went on strike and broke threshing machines. Their plight may be imagined from the fact that their wages averaged little more than one shilling a day at a time when one shilling was also the price of a two-pound loaf of bread. Gradually the disturbance died down, and then the men were brought before judges and sentenced, in batches, to transportation to Australia.

To defy the law was evidently to court defeat. The trade-unionists' only hope was to improve their organization within the law. This was attempted in two ways: first by effecting an organization together of all the trade-unions of the country, and second by disguising trade-unions as other organizations, namely as Friendly Societies, whose actions were legal. We have to follow each of these attempts in turn.

2. ROBERT OWEN, 1771–1858

New Lanark.

The man who tried to co-ordinate all the trade-unions was Robert Owen. Owen came of a small trading family in Wales, and at ten years of age was sent to London as

a draper's assistant to seek his fortune. His keen intelligence and persevering enterprise met their due reward in the shape of a steadily improving financial position. From London he moved to Manchester, the centre of the cotton industry, and there he became a manufacturer. In 1799 he settled at New Lanark, near Glasgow, as part-owner and manager of some famous cotton-mills.

This gave to Owen the opportunity to put into practice theories which he had long held concerning the organization of factories. We have already reviewed [1] the general prevailing factory conditions at the end of the eighteenth century—unhealthy buildings, child labour, low wages, long hours. Owen believed not only that these conditions were disgraceful in themselves but also that a factory would be more profitable if the environment of the workers was improved. This was part of his general creed that the character of each individual was the product of his surroundings, and therefore that the character of any person could be moulded at will by placing him in appropriate circumstances. To produce an ideal man, the only requisite was ideal environment. At New Lanark he proceeded to put this theory to the test, and he achieved notable success. He found 2,000 workpeople at the factory, including 500 "apprentices", and, according to his own account, they were for the most part depraved in morals and in intelligence. He insisted upon cleanliness in the mill, improved his workers' houses, reduced the hours of labour, abandoned the employment of apprentices, sent the smallest children to school, opened a store on a co-operative basis where his people could purchase sound goods cheaply: in general, he did everything possible to establish an ideal society. At first he met with much opposition: the workers resented his new-fangled interference with their "liberty", and his fellow mill-owners trembled for their profits. But gradually the people recognized the improvement in their conditions, and the owners

[1] Chapter III, Section 2.

realized that their income was rising instead of falling. The fame of New Lanark spread not only in England but throughout Europe. Men came from far and near to see a model factory that was earning high dividends.

Nevertheless, opposition outside the mill grew steadily. Owen tried to induce Parliament to pass legislation which would enforce the New Lanark conditions in all factories. This roused deep apprehension among the owners: they admitted the advantages of Owen's system in his mill, but refused to adopt it in their own. When Owen realized that his model factory was not producing the national effect that he had hoped, he lost interest in it, and by about 1815 he had relinquished his activity there in order to concentrate upon other methods of improving the lot of the workers. Almost without exception these later experiments were dismal failures. They fall into three groups, namely, efforts to set up communal societies in Scotland, America, Ireland and Hampshire (England); the organization of a national trades-union; and the promotion of co-operative trading by the workers in their own interest. The first of the three need not detain us long. Owen's colonies were intended as ideal communities whose members should work unselfishly for the welfare of all alike and hence (in a perfect environment) should achieve perfect happiness; unfortunately his colonists were marked by ordinary human imperfections, and one after another the schemes proved futile. Our immediate concern is with his trade-union organization, and here we pick up the thread which we left at the conclusion of the first section of this chapter.

G.N.C.T.U., 1833–1834.

The 1825 Combination Act left the unions paralysed. Though their existence was no longer illegal, any combined action to secure improved conditions brought them within the reach of the law. Their only hope of improving their condition lay in an amalgamation of all the small local

unions into one national federation which, by concerted action, could enforce its will upon the country. This was Owen's policy, and in 1833 he set up the "Grand National Consolidated Trades Union" which was an organization to embrace all the trade-unions in the country.

Such an enormous undertaking needed great experience in leaders and much patience in members, and the lack of these necessities proved fatal. Neither leaders nor followers realized the strength of the opposing forces or the weakness of their own powers of resistance. The mere lack of present-day methods of rapid communication meant that some local union was liable to act without the consent, or even the knowledge, of headquarters and so to be crushed by the masters before national action could be organized.

An example of this weakness was afforded by the case commonly known as that of the *Dorchester Labourers* or the *Tolpuddle Martyrs*. Tolpuddle was a Dorsetshire village which was visited by two delegates of the G.N.C.T.U., and a branch of agricultural workers was formed. Each new member took an oath of allegiance to the Union—a process forbidden by the Six Acts of 1819. Seven labourers were found guilty at Dorchester of administering oaths and in March 1834 they were sentenced to seven years' transportation. While the Government was taking such action as this, the masters were everywhere "presenting the document" to their employees. "The Document" consisted of a promise to renounce all connection with trade-unions, and any man refusing the undertaking was forthwith dismissed. Against these attacks the unions could not stand, and before the end of 1834 Owen's Grand National Consolidated Trades Union had ceased to exist.

3. TRADE-UNIONS LEGALIZED

Friendly Societies.

The failure of the attempts at a national federation left the unions after 1834 where they had been in 1825—

poor, isolated and ineffective. Now and again, bad conditions or extremist agitators would goad a local union into organizing a strike. Invariably the result was a return to work on the masters' terms, which might be worse than those which had provoked the strike. Nevertheless, unions continued to exist, and in many instances they did so by adopting a form which appeared to give them immunity from legal interference, namely, the form of Friendly Societies.

Friendly Societies, maintained by regularly paid subscriptions for the financial help of members in times of special need—sickness, unemployment and the like—had long been a feature of English life. During the French Revolution, the formation of political clubs for the promotion of revolutionary ideas had caused the Government much anxiety, and, in order to distinguish between such clubs and innocent societies, an Act had been passed in 1793 enacting that any friendly society which submitted its rules to a magistrate and received his approval would be accorded legal status, that is, would obtain protection from the law just as an individual would. After 1825, therefore, associations which were virtually trade-unions framed their constitutions in such a way as to qualify them as friendly societies, received the approval of the local magistrates, and thereby became protected under the 1793 Act. The insertion among their rules of a clause referring to out-of-work pay covered the use of funds in the event of a strike. In 1855 a further Act gave to a friendly society protection not only against injury from outside—which was what "legal status" really implied —but also the right to redress against injury by any of its own members.

1871 Act.

In 1867 two events once more raised in an acute form the question of the position of trade-unions. The first event was the outcome of the 1855 Friendly Societies Act.

The secretary of one of the disguised trade-unions withheld the sum of £24, and the society took legal proceedings to recover the money. But the magistrate who tried the case ruled that the society was not a *bona-fide* friendly society because its primary object was "in restraint of trade", a view which the judges subsequently endorsed. As a result, the trade-unions could no longer shelter under the Friendly Societies Acts and were therefore back in the position they had occupied in 1825.

The other event of 1867 was a series of strikes accompanied by riots and the intimidation of non-strikers and masters alike. These outrages brought the question of trade-unions before the public mind, and a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the whole subject.

The Commission's Report was vague, but recommended that unions should be legalized. In 1871 Gladstone's Ministry introduced a Trade-Union Bill which enabled a union to register itself in the same way as a friendly society and to receive a similar legal status. This measure passed into law, but along with it there went the Criminal Law Amendment Act, which forbade coercion of non-strikers even by "picketing". In a word, though trade-unions were fully legalized, almost anything they did to achieve their objects was still illegal.

1875 and 1876 Acts.

The sequel to these Acts was another outburst of strikes, most of which failed, partly through inadequate organization and partly through repression under the Criminal Law Amendment Act. In 1874 Disraeli entered upon his six-year period of office and, by a series of reforming Statutes, proceeded to show the extent to which he had "educated his party". In 1875 the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1871 was repealed, so that picketing became legal; and a further Trade-Union Act of 1876 went to the root of the previous trouble by declaring boldly that an action by a group of workers was not illegal, unless the same

action would have been punishable if performed by an individual. Thus, since one man had the right to withhold his labour, a body of men had a similar right. Henceforward, trade-unions were fully legalized bodies with the right to take action to achieve their policy.

The New Trade-Unionism.

This new freedom opened the way to a new type of trade-unionism. Hitherto only skilled workers had formed themselves into unions, which therefore represented only a small proportion of the workers of the country. If this condition had continued, trade-unionism would have starved itself to death: the increasing use of machinery meant not only an ever-decreasing number of skilled labourers but also that, in the event of a strike, the masters would be able to replace the strikers by unskilled machinists. From this fate trade-unionism was saved by the uprising of the unskilled labourers themselves.

The inspiration of the development was derived from the political and economic theories of *Karl Marx* (1818–1883), who is commonly known as the father of modern socialism. Having been compelled to leave Germany, his native land, and then France on account of his writings, Marx spent the greater part of his life in England. Reduced to simple terms, Marx' theory was that the "war" between masters and men (that is, between capital and labour) was not an accident but was part of the natural order of world-development. As mediaeval Feudalism had broken down and had been supplanted by Capitalism, so Capitalism would be succeeded by Socialism; and he called upon the workers of the world to wage this "class war" which, by the inevitable tendencies of evolution, must bring their own freedom and prosperity. These doctrines—which were in sharp contrast to the socialism of Robert Owen—influenced profoundly a group of men in England and encouraged the unorganized, unskilled labourers to join together for their common good.

Throughout the eighteen-eighties this process went on and expressed itself in growing disturbances and numerous strikes. The climax came with the *Dockers' Strike* of 1889. The work of the dock-labourers was irregular and poorly paid: when a ship had to be loaded or unloaded, a certain number of men were engaged for the job, and, as the numbers available were always far greater than those required at any particular moment, there were wild, and sometimes savage, struggles for places. Even the men engaged were paid only fivepence an hour. In 1889 Ben Tillett, John Burns and Tom Mann led the London Dockers in a strike for an increase of pay to sixpence an hour—the "dockers' tanner". The position looked hopeless: the men had no fund on which to draw, and, as their labour was unskilled, they could be replaced at the docks without great difficulty. Undaunted by these disadvantages, the leaders achieved a double victory. First, their presentment of the dockers' case won wide public sympathy; relief funds were opened and received generous support. Second, the men preserved perfect discipline and good order—which still further increased the public sympathy—and the possible "blacklegs" were kept off the docks either by persuasion or by payment. At last, the masters gave in, and the dockers had won a mighty victory.

The result was an enormous increase of trade-union activity among the classes hitherto regarded as outside the scope of the movement. Unions of all kinds of trades and crafts were mooted. Nor was this all. The new unions, whose numbers enabled them increasingly to dominate the Trade-Union Congress, were imbued with socialistic ideas. They aimed at something more than merely improving the living and working conditions of their members. Believing that bad conditions were inevitable while society was organized on a capitalistic basis, they desired the abolition of the system and, in its place, the organization of a socialistic order of society. This aim could be

achieved ultimately only by political action, and so led to the formation of the Parliamentary Labour Party.

4. RISE OF THE LABOUR PARTY

Its Foundations.

The parliamentary representation of the "workers" as distinct from the rest of the nation was not an altogether novel idea. In the 1874 Election there were thirteen working-men candidates, of whom two—Thomas Burt and Alexander Macdonald—were elected, though as yet there was no regular or central organization for parliamentary purposes. The pioneer of such an organization was Keir Hardie, a Scottish miner, who in 1892 was elected Member of Parliament for West Ham. Next year he formed, and was the Chairman of, the Independent Labour party, whose object was to promote the Parliamentary representation of Labour independent of either of the traditional political parties. Success did not come at once: in the 1895 election the Independent Labour party put into the field twenty-nine candidates, not one of whom won a seat. In 1899 a further step was taken by the formation of the Labour Representation Committee, which consisted of delegates of the Trade-Union Congress, of the Independent Labour party and of two other socialist organizations. In view of future developments, it is of interest to note that the Committee's first secretary was J. Ramsay MacDonald, then thirty-three years of age. This was the beginning of the modern Labour party.

The Party Formed, 1906.

The fruit of this organization was not long in appearing. At the election of 1906 the Liberal party, after being "in the wilderness" since the party split over Home Rule in 1886, returned to power with 387 seats which gave it a substantial majority over all the other parties in the Commons. But the Liberals were not the only party which enjoyed a "landslide": the new House of Commons

contained also forty-one Labour Members who for the first time formed a separate parliamentary party with an organization of its own similar to that of the other two parties. At the invitation of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Liberal Prime Minister, John Burns, who had been one of the leaders of the Dockers' Strike of 1889, became President of the Local Government Board.

Two incidents soon demonstrated the value to trade-unionism of independent representation in Parliament. In 1900 there had been a strike on the *Taff Vale Railway* in Wales, and the strike leaders organized picketing of a forceful kind which involved breaches of Trade-Union Law. The Railway Company, instead of prosecuting the individuals directly concerned, sued the men's union on the ground that the union, being a corporation, was responsible for the actions of its officials. The court upheld the Railway Company's claims, and the union had to pay £23,000 as compensation for the Company's loss of receipts during the strike. This judgment, with its crippling damages, would have prevented any union in the future from risking a strike and so would have undermined the whole trade-union movement.

As soon as the 1906 Parliament met, the newly formed Labour party pressed for legislation to redress what it considered to be a grievance. The result was the *Trades Disputes Act* of 1906 which enacted that peaceful picketing was legal, and that a trade-union was not liable either for a wrongful act committed by one of its agents or for losses sustained by employers in consequence of a strike.

The second incident is known as the *Osborne Case* of 1908. Osborne was a railwayman who objected to part of his subscription to his trade-union being used to support the Parliamentary Labour party. Most of the Labour Members of Parliament were working men without private incomes, and their only source of support came from trade-union funds. Osborne, whose political views did not allow him to support the Parliamentary Labour party,

claimed that his subscriptions were intended for trade-union activities only and that to divert them for other purposes was illegal. The case was carried finally to the House of Lords, and in 1909 judgment was given in Osborne's favour. The political work of trade-unions thereby became illegal, and, if the Parliamentary Labour party was to continue to exist, some other source of income must be found for its members. This difficulty was finally overcome in two ways: first, in 1911 a parliamentary grant of £400 a year was made to all Members of Parliament; and second, an Act of 1913 allowed any trade-union to create a special political fund to which members of the union need not contribute unless they wished.

Labour Government, 1923.

Our pursuit of the consequences of the test cases in the law-courts has taken us aside from the main thread of following the development of the Parliamentary Labour party itself. In the 1910 Parliament, Labour did not share the relative set-back of the Liberals, its members numbering forty against forty-one in the 1906 Parliament. No further election was held before the War of 1914–1919, and during the war-period party lines became somewhat blurred. In the election of 1923 the Labour party secured 191 seats, and the balance of parties was such that its leader, J. Ramsay MacDonald, was made Prime Minister and so formed the first Labour Government in the history of Britain.[1] Next year the Liberals ceased to support the Ministry, and in the ensuing General Election Labour lost some forty seats. In 1929 MacDonald again formed a Government which remained in office until, in consequence of the national financial emergency of the autumn of 1931, he formed a Coalition Government of all three parties. By a strange turn of fate, his only opponents were a group of the Labour party who declined to believe that the national situation demanded such drastic steps as the Prime Minister had taken.

[1] *See page* 165.

CHAPTER VIII

LOCAL GOVERNMENT [1]

1. MUNICIPAL CORPORATION ACT, 1835

Early Nineteenth Century.

LOCAL Government may be defined as the conduct of public business within a given area—such as a county or a borough—by a body of people whom the inhabitants of the area have elected to carry out the requirements of the Central Government and to deal with matters relating to the government of that area.

During the nineteenth century, English local government underwent reorganization scarcely less thorough-going than the reforms which we have traced in the central government. For this there were two main reasons. First, the ever-increasing democratic tendencies of the period could not be limited to one department of government: if popular election was a just method of choosing a House of Commons, the logical course was to apply a similar method in choosing town councils and other local government bodies. Hence we need not be surprised that the 1832 and 1884 Parliamentary Reform Acts were followed by the Local Government Reform Acts of 1835 and 1888 respectively. Second, local government organization had, by the early nineteenth century, become so confused and

[1] At certain points in this chapter, the author has drawn upon his *Story of the British Constitution*, Chapter IX.

corrupt as to be incapable of functioning efficiently. The reason for this condition was that local government, like every other part of the British governmental system, had not been organized as one whole but had grown step by step without any comprehensive plan. Throughout the centuries, kings and parliaments had delegated more and more governmental work to local authorities, that is, mainly to Justices of the Peace, though always in a piecemeal fashion. By the time the nineteenth century opened, local government reform had become imperative.

Need for Municipal Reform.

The need was realized most urgently in the towns. These could be classified into two types. First, there were the ancient boroughs governed in accordance with their royal charters. Each borough had received its own charter, the terms of which were determined in large measure by the circumstances prevailing at the time the charter was granted. Consequently there was little uniformity in the details of municipal government. But the local authority in most towns was a " close corporation " : that is to say, certain individuals had originally been nominated to safeguard the privileges and to carry out the duties laid down in the town's charter ; these individuals were appointed for life, and when any one of them died, the others nominated a successor to fill his place. Not unnaturally, a friend or a relative of one or more of the existing members would be chosen, so that before long the control of a borough commonly fell into the hands of a small family clique. A body so constituted could not be influenced by the wishes of the general citizens. It levied rates and often derived considerable corporate income from lands and from tolls of fairs and markets ; but supervision of the way the money was spent was slight and casual, and there can be no doubt that corruption was widespread. For this reason alone, the need for reform was urgent.

The other class of towns was that of the new populous

places which the industrial revolution had suddenly produced. These were without charters and therefore were still governed in much the same way as when they were villages. Often, as part of a large estate, they were under the control of the lord of the manor—possibly some nobleman—whose chief anxiety was for the amount of income that he could squeeze from them. Because in these new industrial towns there was no one to care for the welfare of the common folk, unhealthy factories and dwellings were erected in great numbers. No attempt was made to provide either a pure water supply or sound sanitation. The result was plagues and—what was almost worse—lives permanently injured. Our modern slum problem is the direct outcome of the lack of supervision of town building in the early part of the nineteenth century.

Clauses.

Almost immediately after Parliament was reformed in 1832, a Commission was appointed (1833) to inquire into local administration. The abuses revealed in its Report were so flagrant that in 1835 the Municipal Corporation Act was passed. This Act abolished the various constitutions of the corporate boroughs and, in their place, provided that a body of councillors should be elected by the householders of the town; the councillors were empowered to nominate aldermen (whose number was not to exceed one-third the number of the elected councillors); and the whole body was to be presided over by a Mayor. The councillors were to be elected for three years, the aldermen for six, and the mayor for one year. The corporation thus constituted was empowered to levy rates for the expenses of local government administration, but its accounts were to be properly audited.

This Act made possible the enormous municipal development of the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Corporations, functioning through qualified permanent officials, have been able to undertake municipal services

—such as the supply of electricity and water and the lighting and paving of the streets—which have gone a long way towards remedying the abuses encouraged by the former system and towards making the towns healthful and happy places for the multitudes who have to live in them.

2. LOCAL GOVERNMENT ACTS, 1888 AND 1894

Local Government before 1888.

The Municipal Corporation Act had, however, done almost nothing to remedy the other anomaly of local government, namely, the confusion arising from overlapping authorities. Each time some new power had been conferred on a local authority, a new authority had been formed to exercise that power. Further, the geographical boundaries of these authorities did not coincide, so that any particular individual might be linked with one place for one purpose and with a number of different places for as many different purposes. The result was chaos. In addition to the historical divisions into counties, parishes and boroughs, there were sanitary, education, Poor Law, highway, burial, and other districts. It has been stated that "in 1883 there were no less than 27,069 independent local authorities taxing the English ratepayer, and taxing him by eighteen different kinds of rates".[1] The aim of the Local Government Acts of 1888 and 1894 was to reduce this chaos to order.

Local Government Act, 1888.

The 1888 Act was concerned with the organization of local government for counties. Sixty-two administrative counties were established; their boundaries coincided, in most instances, with those of the historical shires, but some of the largest shires were divided into two (for example, Suffolk) or three (for example, Yorkshire) administrative counties. Also, towns whose population exceeded 50,000

[1] Sir J. A. R. Marriott, *The Mechanism of the Modern State*, Vol. II, p. 354.

became "county boroughs" and were excluded for local government purposes from the administrative counties. Formerly the local government of the shire had been vested in the Quarter Sessions of magistrates nominated by Lord-Lieutenants. The Quarter Sessions were to retain their primary functions as judicial bodies, but most of their administrative powers—such as responsibility for county finance and the maintenance of roads and bridges—were transferred to new bodies called county councils, one of which was to be established in every county and county borough. The county council, like a borough council, was to be composed of councillors elected for three years by the ratepayers and of aldermen chosen by the councillors. This Act covered the country with a systematic local government network which cured the immediate confusion and provided machinery for administering much of the legislation of the following years.

District and Parish Councils Act, 1894.

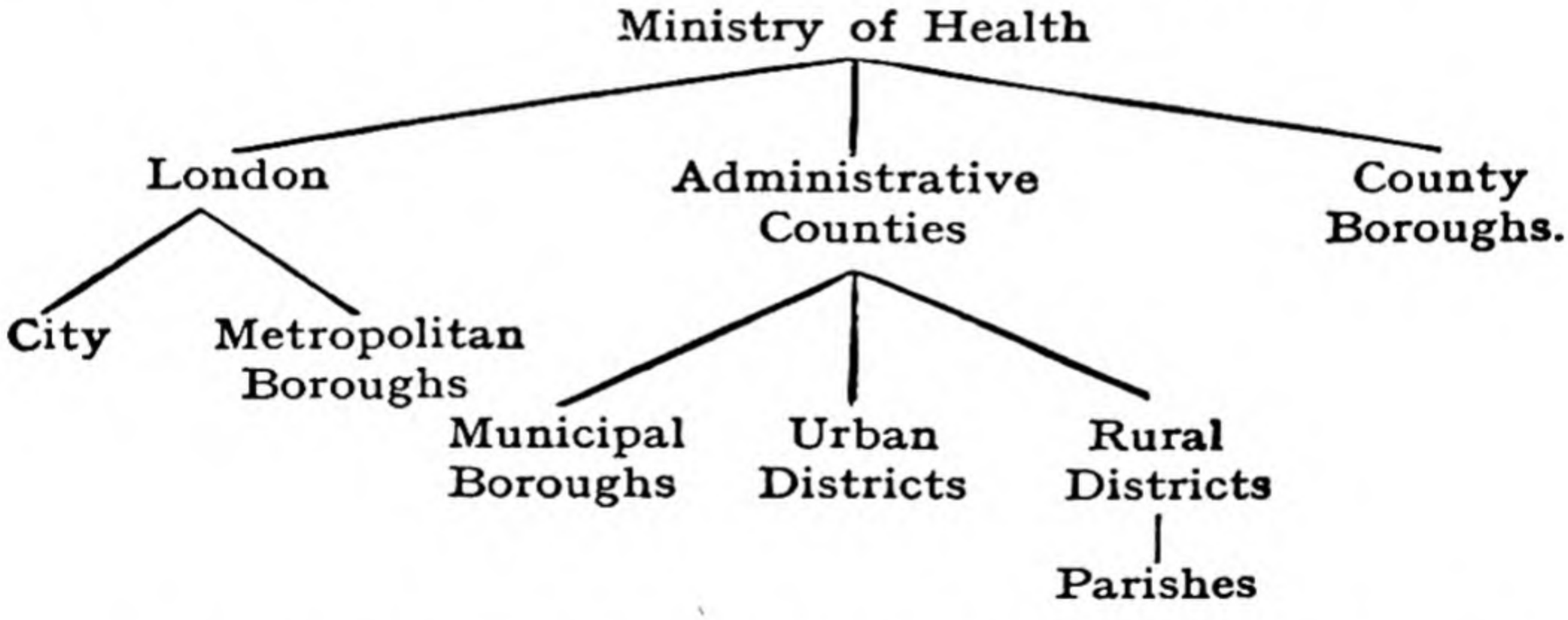
What the 1888 Act did for the counties was done for the subordinate areas by the Act of 1894. Each county was divided into districts: a district comprising a populous place other than an incorporated town was called an urban district; and those parts of a county remaining after excluding the boroughs and the urban districts were divided into rural districts. In each district there was to be an elected council responsible for maintaining roads (other than main roads), water-supply, paving, and for other similar duties. Further, each district was divided into parishes: in the rural parishes—except the smallest—an elected council was to provide footpaths, lighting, recreation grounds, and other parish amenities.

London.

London, because of the complicated problems of administering an area so vast and complicated, was treated separately for local government purposes. By the 1888

Act, London was constituted an administrative county—not a county borough—having a county council with a membership and with powers similar to those of the councils of the other administrative counties. An Act of 1899 further elaborated the organization of London by erecting around the City twenty-eight Metropolitan Boroughs each with its own Mayor and Council, but all of them under the general authority of the London County Council. This co-ordination of the local government authorities of greater London has facilitated the organization of many public services which could not have been efficiently provided if each area around the Metropolis had continued to be administered independently of the rest.

The following table may help towards a clearer understanding of the relationship of the various local government authorities as outlined in this chapter.



3. TWENTIETH-CENTURY LEGISLATION

In principle, the scheme of local government established by the Acts of 1888 and 1894 still remains, but in certain particulars it has been modified by the creation of the Ministry of Health in 1919 and by the Local Government Act of 1929.

Ministry of Health, 1919.

In 1871 a special department, the Local Government Board, had been set up to supervise the local govern-

ment authorities whose importance even then was growing steadily. Hitherto the control of local government work had been in the hands of various bodies: the Poor Law Board had been concerned with the administration of the Poor Law; other local government functions had been controlled by the Home Office, and yet others by the Privy Council. In 1871 these various powers were taken away from the authorities exercising them and were centralized in the Local Government Board whose President was a Cabinet Minister.

In 1919 the Local Government Board ceased to exist and was superseded by a newly constituted Ministry of Health. Not only did the new Department wield the powers of its predecessor, but in addition it took over responsibilities, hitherto exercised by other State departments, relating to national health. Thus yet another stage was reached in reducing to order the local government chaos which had existed until the later nineteenth century. The range of the new Ministry's functions makes it one of the most important of all the State departments: National Health Insurance, Poor Law, Housing Acts, these are only some of the multifarious matters for which it is responsible. In Parliament the department is represented by the Minister of Health whose office is reckoned as of high rank.

The primary business of the Ministry of Health is to see that the various local government authorities carry out their duties as laid down in Acts of Parliament. Its most effective weapon in exercising control is the financial one. The cost of maintaining many of the public services for which the local government authorities are responsible is so high that to finance them entirely out of local resources would mean crushingly heavy rates. Accordingly, very substantial grants towards local expenses are made from the national Exchequer; and, as such grants are made through the Ministry of Health, that department is able to exercise a controlling influence over the policy

adopted by the local authorities. Further, the department audits the accounts of local government bodies, except boroughs, and hence is able to ascertain whether its directions are carried out.

Local Government Act, 1929.

The work of the Ministry of Health was made yet more efficient by the Local Government Act of 1929. Since 1894, enormous changes had taken place in the general conditions of life in England, and the new Act was designed to amend the consequent defects in the existing local government system. Two items of this amendment may be noticed especially.

The first was that the county became the authority responsible for maintaining public roads. This was done by transferring to the county the highway powers previously exercised by the district and parish councils, though the large urban districts were allowed to retain their former highway functions.

The second, and more important, change related to the administration of the Poor Law. This section of the Act followed in principle the precedent set by the 1902 Education Act which had abolished the school districts and the school boards and had given the administration of education Acts to the councils of counties, boroughs and urban districts: boroughs and the larger urban districts were made responsible for their own elementary schools, and the county was responsible for all secondary schools and for elementary schools in rural and small urban districts. The 1929 Local Government Act dealt similarly with the Poor Law system. Hitherto, the local authority for the distribution of relief to the poor had been the Poor Law Guardians who were appointed separately from the other local government authorities and whose areas also frequently overlapped those of other authorities. The 1929 Act therefore abolished the existing Poor Law authorities and transferred their powers to county councils and to

county borough councils. To carry out its Poor Law responsibilities, each county was to set up a "Public Assistance Committee" which was to have a sub-committee, called the "Guardians' Committee", in each district of the county to carry out the detailed work of inquiry into applications for relief and of making grants.

As time passes, and as the Central Government's work becomes increasingly complicated, more and more administration is likely to be delegated to local authorities. Consequently, one of the most urgent needs of the day is for able, public-spirited men and women willing to help the community by offering themselves for service to one or other of the local government bodies mentioned in this chapter.

CHAPTER IX

TWENTIETH-CENTURY DOMESTIC POLITICS

1. CHARACTER OF THE PERIOD

Close of Conservative Régime.

THE close of the nineteenth century marked the close also of the long period of Conservative power. For the moment, this political change was disguised by passing circumstances: in 1900 the Conservatives were again returned to office, but the Election had taken place in the midst of the second Boer War, and the Government had therefore been able to appeal successfully for a mandate to finish off the War. Much of the attention of the Government—led by Salisbury until 1902 and by Balfour thereafter—was occupied by foreign affairs, notably by the formation of an alliance with Japan in 1902 and of an "Entente Cordiale" with France in 1903–1904. At home, the Education Act of 1902 was the most important measure, though its assistance of the Church of England Schools, as well as of Board Schools, out of the rates which everyone paid, caused bitter resentment among large numbers of Nonconformists.

Meanwhile, discontent with the Conservative régime was becoming more and more general. This was due mainly to the spread of socialistic ideas through the writings of Karl Marx.[1] The Socialists held that private individuals

[1] Chapter VII, Sections 3 and 4.

ought not to be allowed to make profit out of the sources whence the people's basic needs were supplied. They therefore advocated the acquiring by the nation—that is, the nationalization—of the means of production and of distribution. The tangible effect of these ideas was the formation of the Labour Party, and of other socialistic societies. But the influence of socialism was not to be measured only by counting the adherents of such societies. Its propaganda was affecting large numbers of people who, though not accepting socialistic doctrines, were awakening to a new sense of the duty of the State. In the early part of the nineteenth century, the function of the State had been commonly regarded as that of preserving law and order so that the people—particularly the landowners and employers of labour—could seek their own prosperity in what seemed to them the best way. By the close of the century, the State was taking upon itself to interfere in the interests of all sections of the people. This new attitude reacted unfavourably on the Conservative party. Though Peel and Disraeli had saved their party from a policy of mere stagnation, Conservatism was still regarded as the opponent of change, and public support was swinging steadily towards the more progressive Liberal and Labour parties.

Just at this juncture, the discomfiture of the Conservatives was completed in two directions. First, though the second Boer War had finally ended in a British victory, there was widespread dissatisfaction with the way the War had been conducted; and the evidence of a number of commissions of inquiry seemed to confirm the suspicions of maladministration. This inevitably reacted against the party which had been in power throughout the war-period. Second, and more important, was Joseph Chamberlain's Tariff Reform programme.[1] Many prominent members of the party refused to accept that programme, the Duke of Devonshire and others dissociated themselves from it by resigning from the Ministry, and the terms in which

[1] Chapter IV, Section 5.

Balfour, as Prime Minister, at last endorsed the programme were so vague that the rank and file of the party were uncertain as to what policy they were supposed to be supporting. The result was that when the Government resigned office in December 1905, the Conservatives went to the country a divided party and were smashed to pieces at the polls : in a House of Commons of 670 Members they had only 158 seats.

Liberal Ministries, 1906–1916.

In 1906 the tables were turned : just as the Liberal split over Home Rule in 1886 had given to the Conservatives an almost unbroken twenty-year period of power, so in 1906 the Conservative split over Tariff Reform gave to the Liberals the prospect of a long and prosperous ministry. The widespread demand for social reforms now found full vent. But they were not to be realized without challenge. Their opponents fought them with every available political weapon, and before long first-class political issues were being raised. Hence, in order to understand the political events of the decade beginning in 1906, we shall do well to take a preliminary survey of the period.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman became Prime Minister. His Government is recognized by common consent to have been the most brilliant of modern times : many political critics even regard it as the most brilliant of British history. Mr. Asquith was Chancellor of the Exchequer ; Mr. Lloyd George, the Welsh leader who, from being a humble attorney, had risen through persistent genius to a position of national fame, was first given office as President of the Board of Trade ; Sir Edward Grey was Foreign Secretary ; Mr. Haldane, Minister for War ; Mr. John Morley, Secretary for Ireland ; Mr. McKenna, First Lord of the Admiralty ; and a Labour Member, Mr. John Burns, as President of the Local Government Board, was the first working man to hold Cabinet office.

In May 1908, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman died. A

month before his death he had retired from the Premiership and had been succeeded in office by Mr. Asquith. This entailed some reshuffling of offices, the most important alteration being Mr. Lloyd George's transference to the Exchequer, and Mr. Winston Churchill's becoming President of the Board of Trade. This Government was still in office when the Great War broke out in August 1914.

The strong character of the Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith Ministries, and their huge majority in the Commons, encouraged the introduction of many measures of social reform, the details of which we shall review in the next section of this chapter. But though these measures were passed by large majorities in the Commons, most of them were either drastically amended or rejected outright by the House of Lords. Gradually the Government was driven to consider action whereby the powers of the Lords might be curtailed. The issue was brought to a head when the Lords rejected the 1909 Budget and so precipitated an acute constitutional crisis. This led to two General Elections during 1910 in both of which the Liberals were returned to office; and in 1911 the Parliament Act laid down rules governing the relationship between the two Houses.

Meanwhile two other subjects were beginning to becloud the political horizon, namely, the question of Ireland and the rumours of war in Europe. The former has already been dealt with;[1] and the latter will form the subject of the closing chapters of this book.

We have now to retrace our steps so as to follow the course of these events in greater detail.

2. SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Labour Legislation.

The legislative activity of the Liberal Governments between 1906 and 1916 was so vast that we can touch

[1] Chapter VI, Section 5

upon the more important measures only. First, we may notice a group of Acts dealing with labour.

The *Trades Disputes Act* of 1906 has already been noticed in connection with trade-unions. In 1906, also, the *Workmen's Compensation Act* was passed. A Statute of 1897 had enacted that a workman might obtain compensation from his master for injuries sustained in the course of his employment. This Act was, however, limited in two respects: first, its provisions applied only to the effects of accidents and not to permanent injury to health resulting from unhealthy occupations; second, workers in certain of the most dangerous occupations were specifically excluded from the operation of the Act. The 1906 Act was designed to remedy these defects: henceforward, compensation could be claimed for diseases arising from industrial processes; and all workers (other than soldiers, sailors, and policemen) were brought within the scope of the measure if their income was not more than £250 a year.

Another Act passed in the interests of workpeople was that establishing *Labour Exchanges* in 1909. All over the country, offices were opened where unemployed people could register themselves and where employers with vacant posts could inquire about suitable men. A central organization was designed to put an unemployed man in touch with vacancies outside his own locality.

Pensions and Insurance.

Two other measures, which we may consider together were intended to help people who were unable to provide for themselves. The first was the 1908 *Old Age Pensions Act*, which authorized the payment of five shillings a week to men and women of over seventy years of age provided they were not receiving poor-relief or had no income exceeding twelve shillings a week.

Akin to this provision for old age was the Government's scheme for compulsory health insurance which finally became law as the *Insurance Act* of 1911. Every employed

man and woman whose income was less than £160 was compelled to pay fourpence a week into a State insurance fund; to this weekly sum the man's employer added fivepence, and the State threepence. Thus was built up a national fund which was to provide medical attention for the worker in case of illness. These proposals were bitterly opposed by employers and, hardly less, by the doctors. However, the Government pressed on with its Bill which, having become an Act, has worked with general success and been an enormous help to large numbers of the population.

In 1911, also, an *Unemployment Insurance Act* provided that the workers in certain building trades should be compelled to pay a weekly sum into a State fund from which they should be entitled to draw benefit if, through no fault of their own, they were unemployed. In 1920 the principle of this measure was extended to other trades, and now applies to several millions of workers.

Children's Acts.

Nor was the Government's care limited to aged and unfortunate adults. Two measures especially were passed in the interest of children. The first, in 1907, authorized county and municipal councils to levy rates in order that school children might be medically examined and that necessitous children might be fed. To the criticism that, in so doing, the State was relieving parents of their proper responsibility, the Government replied that money spent in trying to educate children that were hungry and physically unfit was money wasted.

The second, and more important, measure was the *Children's Act* of 1908. This Act collected together in a comprehensive form most of the existing legislation referring to children and then introduced many new provisions. Severe penalties were to be imposed upon persons who neglected or ill-treated children that were in their care, or who sold tobacco or cigarettes to children. The

system of reformatories and similar institutions for juvenile law-breakers was overhauled. Not the least important part of the Act was its establishment of juvenile law-courts, separate from the ordinary courts, so that child-offenders could be tried without being associated with the procedure or atmosphere of the ordinary criminal courts. So far-reaching, both in scope and in thoroughness, was the 1908 Act that it became known as the "Children's Charter".

Haldane's Army Reforms.

One other notable measure was Mr. Haldane's Territorial and Reserve Forces Act of 1907 which, though not strictly conforming to the heading of "Social Legislation", is conveniently dealt with as part of the Liberal legislation.

As soon as Haldane took over the War Office, he became convinced of grave defects in the existing army-system. Cardwell's Reforms [1] of 1871 had set the army upon a sound basis, but during the intervening years many changes had taken place. Valuable military lessons had been learned during the second Boer War; other nations were making their armies constantly more efficient; and Britain's increasingly close relationships with other Powers demanded that she should possess an army organized suitably for Continental warfare. One of the glaring weaknesses was the lack of co-ordination between the regular army and the non-professional volunteer units.

Haldane's reforms had three main features. First, he organized a relatively small regular army—about 150,000 strong—which was to be kept in a constant state of efficient preparation for service abroad. This was known as the Expeditionary Force. Second, for home defence, the former "Volunteers" were reconstituted into the Territorial Force. Each county was to have its own Territorial organization, the funds for which were in the main provided by the War Office. Also, in order to ensure efficient train-

[1] Chapter V, Section 2.

ing and close co-operation between the Territorial and the Regular Armies, the organization of the former was put into the hands of regular officers who also acted as training instructors. Third, the Officers' Training Corps was created so as to fit young men to become officers in case of emergency: such a corps was established at most of the universities, public schools and other secondary schools throughout the country.

The effectiveness of Haldane's reforms was put to a searching test all too soon. When war broke out in 1914, the readiness of the Expeditionary Force enabled the German tide through Belgium to be stemmed, and the decisive contribution of Britain to the Allied campaigns throughout the long years that followed was rendered possible only by the work of the Officers' Training Corps and of the Territorial Armies.

Meanwhile, the fighting strength of the navy was being steadily increased. This was due to the development of the German navy and will be mentioned later in connection with events leading to the 1914 War. Here we may notice that under Mr. McKenna—and, later, Mr. Churchill—the Admiralty strove to maintain British naval supremacy, particularly by building warships of the "Dreadnought" class, which were heavily armed, all-big-gun vessels. The permanent official responsible for the more technical side of the work was Admiral John (afterwards Lord) Fisher.

3. CONSTITUTIONAL CRISIS, 1909–1911

Position of House of Lords.

Though the Liberal Ministry secured a mass of legislation —of which the measures mentioned above are outstanding examples—there was a number of other important Bills which they introduced but failed to pass into law because of the opposition of the House of Lords. One of the earliest efforts of the Ministry had been an attempt to

amend the Balfour Education Act of 1902. In 1906 an Education Bill was passed by the Commons but rejected by the Lords; and in 1908 two further Education Bills were introduced into the Commons, but both were withdrawn owing to the Lords' resistance. Similarly a Plural Voting Bill, to deal with the numerous instances of individuals whose ownership of several properties gave them several parliamentary votes, and a Licensing Bill, to reduce the number of public-houses, were both rejected by the Lords in 1908. On all these Bills much care and time had been spent by the Commons who had passed them by substantial majorities. The Liberal party, both in the Commons and in the country, not unnaturally grew restless. Its members pointed out the obvious facts that the House of Lords, whose members—with negligible exceptions—held their seats by hereditary right, contained a permanent Conservative majority, so that Conservative Bills were almost automatically passed by the Lords while controversial Liberal measures were as surely rejected: in short, the Liberals claimed that, no matter which party was in office, the Conservatives were always in power. The Lords and their supporters replied that, since the subjects of the rejected Bills had not been before the electors during the previous Election, the Lords were fulfilling their proper function of delaying legislation until the nation had had the opportunity to express its will.

The question was not a new one. We have seen that as far back as 1831 the Whig Reform Bill had been so bitterly opposed by the Lords that—in spite of the Whigs' having been returned to power for the express purpose of reforming the franchise—Grey had finally overcome the Lords' resistance only by the threat to create Whig peers. More recently, Gladstone had retired from political life because the settled opposition of the Lords to Home Rule meant that his schemes for Ireland were impossible of achievement until the powers of the Upper House had been curtailed. The experiences of the Liberals after 1906

convinced them that the curtailment could be delayed no longer.

Budget, 1909.

The Lords themselves precipitated the crisis by their treatment of the 1909 Budget. For several centuries, the supremacy of the Commons in matters of finance had been uncontested. Occasionally the Lords had rejected a Bill whose financial provisions were held to be incidental to, and not the main purpose of, the measure. Gladstone's Paper Duties Bill [1] of 1860 is an example ; but Gladstone's method—first adopted in 1861 and ever afterwards followed —of consolidating all his financial proposals in one Budget to be accepted or rejected as a whole, put a stop to the Lords' ability to use even this method of killing Money Bills. This is of interest because the opposition of the Lords to the 1909 Budget was based on the same principles as their opposition to the 1860 Paper Duties.

The Government's social legislation involved enormously increased expenditure, and further measures were being prepared. To meet the consequent calls on the Exchequer, Mr. Lloyd George in 1909 introduced a Budget to raise the unprecedentedly large sum of £200,000,000. Increased taxation was inevitable and, as he adhered staunchly to Free Trade principles, he proposed to raise the income-tax on the very rich, to levy death duties, to increase the duties on alcohol, and to tax the "unearned increment" of land. The latter term refers to the increased value which land acquires when neighbouring land is developed : for example, if a new town grows up, the market-value of all the neighbouring land rises enormously, though the owner has done nothing to "earn" the additional value. The Chancellor of the Exchequer claimed that, since the "unearned increment" was due to the efforts of the community and not of the individual owner, the community had the right to tax the additional value of such land. The

[1] Chapter IV, Section 4.

clause provoked bitter class-controversy. The landowners regarded this part of the Budget as a direct attack upon them. If there had been any doubt as to the intention of the Budget's land-clauses, the Chancellor removed it by declaring—in a series of fighting speeches both in the Commons and on public platforms—that his object was to tax the rich for the benefit of the poor. The Lords therefore contended that the real aim of the Budget was to provide money not for the normal and proper purposes of government but to promote a social revolution, and they declared that they would not pass such a Budget until it had been submitted to the verdict of the nation.

The Lords' rejection of the Budget therefore precipitated a General Election in January 1910. That the enormous Liberal majority of 1906 would be repeated was not to be expected. The Liberal majority over the Conservatives was reduced to one, but the forty Labour Members and the eighty Irish Nationalists (who, in view of the fate of the 1893 Home Rule Bill, had their own quarrel with the Lords) could be relied upon to support the Government who thus had a majority of 120. The Lords had no alternative to passing the Budget.

Parliament Act, 1911.

The Budget crisis, though involving constitutional principles of the highest importance, was only the symptom of a yet larger issue, namely, the powers of the House of Lords and its relationship with the Lower House. The Government determined for the future to prevent the wholesale rejection of its Bills such as it had suffered in the past. With this object, the Parliament Bill was introduced, the following being its main provisions. First, any Bill which the Speaker of the House of Commons certified as a "Money Bill" could not be delayed by the Lords for more than one month: at the end of that time, whether it had received their assent or not, it could be presented for royal signature. Second, any other Bill which had

been passed by the Commons and rejected by the Lords in each of three successive sessions, might also be presented for the royal assent, provided that two years had elapsed between the Bill's introduction in the Commons and its last rejection in the Lords. Third, the life of a Parliament was reduced from seven to five years.

The purpose of the Bill was to ensure the complete supremacy of the Commons in matters of finance, and in other matters to leave the Lords with power to suspend for two years, but not ultimately to reject, measures presented to them by the Commons. The Government claimed that during the two years there would be ample opportunity for the country to express its mind on the contended legislation and that no Government would risk its existence by continuing to pursue legislation which the nation opposed.

In this form the Bill passed the Commons, but the Lords could not be expected to vote away their own powers, and they accordingly rejected the Bill. Mr. Asquith therefore brought the question to a decisive issue. In November 1910 Parliament was dissolved, and in December another Election—the second within the year—took place, the Government being returned with a majority almost exactly identical with its previous one. The attitude of the Lords at this juncture might well determine the fate not only of themselves but of the whole Constitution. Many of them were still adamant in opposing the Parliament Bill at all costs. The Government claimed that this attitude, in view of the verdict of two Elections, was thwarting the nation's will.

In May 1910 King Edward VII had died and had been succeeded by his only surviving son as King George V. From the latter, Mr. Asquith—following the precedent of 1832—obtained a promise that, if the need arose, enough new Liberal peers would be created to overcome the Conservative resistance. This settled the fate of the measure: the Conservative Peers—also following the pre-

cedent of 1832—chose the less of two evils and abstained from further opposition. In August 1911 the Parliament Bill became an Act.

After this, the Upper House continued to exercise the powers expressly left to it under the terms of the Parliament Act, and several Bills were rejected. For only two of these did the Government use the provisions of the Parliament Act, namely, the Disestablishment of the Welsh Church (on similar lines to Gladstone's Disestablishment of the Irish Church) and the Home Rule Bill. Both of these were introduced in 1912 and, notwithstanding the Lords' continued rejection of them, they finally became law in 1914, though even of these the Home Rule Act was never enforced.

4. WAR-TIME MINISTRIES

Asquith Government, 1911–1916.

Mention of the Home Rule Act reminds us of the enormous burdens which the Asquith Government was bearing. As soon as the constitutional crisis had been settled by the Parliament Act of 1911, Ireland began to approach the verge of civil war.[1] More serious still, as the concluding chapters of this volume will show, contemporary with these domestic problems was a succession of foreign crises whose intensity steadily grew. When in 1914 the War, which had been threatening for years, burst upon Europe, Britain was drawn into the vortex, and the Government had to deal with the biggest problem which it, or perhaps any other Government, had yet had to face. For the moment the Asquith Ministry continued in office. Under the terms of the Parliament Act, the Parliament which had been elected in 1910 ought to have ended in December 1915. But a General Election in the midst of the War, while the ordinary political issues were in abeyance and while the energy and loyalty of the whole

[1] Chapter VI, Section 5.

nation needed to be united in the common task, was unthinkable. Parliament therefore prolonged its own life, and repeated that process more than once until the War was over.

At first, few even of the best informed people realized the immensity of the struggle in which the country was engaged, but, as time passed, the hope of a speedy victory began to fade. In May 1915, so as to ensure the co-operation of the whole nation, the Prime Minister invited prominent members of the Conservative and Labour parties to join the Liberals in forming a national Coalition Government. This did something to rally the confidence of the people; but as the months dragged on, the end seemed no nearer. Discontent with the Government was the natural result and was shared even by some members of the Cabinet. The cause of the dissatisfaction was an uneasy feeling that, though Asquith was a man of keen sagacity and of unselfish patriotism, he lacked the mental and physical energy essential to a great war-leader. Towards the end of 1916, therefore, an acute political crisis developed, and several members of the Government, including Mr. Lloyd George, tendered their resignations. The situation was eased by the resignation of Asquith in December 1916. His austere dignity never showed itself to greater advantage than in his unvindictive manner of laying down the office which he had held with high distinction. This was really the end of his political career.

Lloyd George Ministry, 1916–1922.

Lloyd George succeeded to the Premiership in the Coalition Government, and he immediately set to work to infuse new energy and efficiency into the complicated military machine. For this purpose, his Celtic exuberance was exactly suited. New ministerial departments were set up to specialize in various branches of war-work, and soon the needful munitions—the alleged shortage of which had been the immediate cause of Asquith's fall—were forth-

coming in enormous quantities though also at enormous cost.

Two other results followed the new Premiership. First, the appointment of additional Ministers meant an enlarged Cabinet which proved to be too unwieldy for a supreme executive body. Consequently a small executive War Cabinet was formed, first with five members and later with seven. The business of this body was to co-ordinate the multifarious work of the various departments and to decide questions of policy. The War Cabinet soon became all-powerful, and the Prime Minister virtually a dictator. Second, the Liberal party was again split into two, a split which was the more bitter because its motive was not political, in the party sense, but was personal: some Liberals, regarding Asquith as the victim of intrigue, remained loyal to him; others, holding the view that national welfare should have precedence over both political and personal considerations, supported Lloyd George. This feud between the two branches of Liberals became permanent, and accounts for the party's weakness after the War ended.

The attention of the Ministry was naturally concentrated upon the War, and this part of its work will be reviewed in our closing chapter. As soon as possible after the Armistice was signed (11th November 1918) a General Election—which legally had been due three years earlier—was held and resulted in an overwhelming majority for Lloyd George and the Coalition. Two main tasks lay ahead. The first was to negotiate peace-terms, and the second was to set British life going again in something like normal channels. Both at Versailles and at home, Lloyd George was the dominating British personage of the day. The energetic imagination which had enabled him to prosecute the War so successfully seemed apt to run away with him now that the acute crisis was over. During the Election of 1919 he had proposed to pay for the War by extorting fabulous sums from Germany—and, inci-

dentally, to "hang the Kaiser"—and to make Britain a land "fit for heroes". Though these allurements were the chief reason for his electoral success, their failure to materialize during the months that followed caused a corresponding reaction of disappointment. Steadily the Prime Minister's popularity declined. After the signature of the Peace Treaty at Versailles in 1919, the need for a Coalition Government seemed at an end. In 1922, therefore, the Conservatives withdrew from the Government, Lloyd George resigned office, and Bonar Law—the Conservative leader—became Prime Minister. The ensuing General Election gave a clear majority to the Conservatives. Failing health compelled Bonar Law's retirement after a few months, and Mr. Baldwin succeeded to the party-leadership and to the Premiership. Baldwin revived the policy of Tariff Reform, with the result that an Election in 1923 shattered the Conservative majority in the Commons: though they held 258 seats, they were outnumbered by the Free Trade parties, Labour having 191 and the Liberals 156. Consequently the first Labour Government was formed, with general Liberal support. The withdrawal of that support in the next year brought the downfall of the Government, and a second Baldwin administration followed.

With this return to something like normal political life, we may leave the domestic affairs of Britain in the early twentieth century.

CHAPTER X

REVIEW OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY THOUGHT

THIS book is necessarily concerned chiefly with politics and, to a less extent, with economics which form the background and basis of politics. But the history of a nation is much more than the record of its statesmen and soldiers, and we must try to adjust the balance a little by reviewing the development of thought as expressed in the arts and in science and as applied to the daily life of the people.

The nineteenth century was characterized by movement and change. The literature of the eighteenth century reveals a society which accepted without serious challenge the existing modes of thought, religion and social relationships. About the middle of the eighteenth century, the introduction of machinery and its increasing application to the processes of manufacture and of agriculture, produced reactions which threatened the stability of society as then existing. But whereas the eighteenth century merely resented the consequent changes, the nineteenth century tried to adjust itself to, and even welcomed, them: this is one explanation of the social legislation whose volume steadily grew as the century proceeded. In nearly every realm of life, the nineteenth century took a pride in its "progressiveness", though often it showed scant regard for the men and women who became the helpless victims of "progress".

1. LITERATURE AND ART

The Authors.

This mood of change found its natural reflection in literature and the arts. A mere list of the famous names in those spheres is sufficient to indicate the variety which the nineteenth century offered. There were the novelists Scott, Thackeray, Dickens, Charlotte and Emily Brontë, Marian Evans ("George Eliot"), Meredith, Reade, Kingsley, Stevenson and Hardy. Of prose writers other than novelists, the outstanding were the historians Macaulay, Carlyle and Froude; the scientists Huxley, Herbert Spencer and Charles Darwin; the political philosopher John Stuart Mill; and the art critic John Ruskin. The poets included Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Tennyson, Robert Browning and Elizabeth his wife, and Matthew Arnold. The century was noticeably lacking in great playwrights, though towards its close Barrie and Shaw began to win just fame. Originality in great music was also lacking until late in the century: in this respect, Elgar won for himself a place that will live for many generations, and the operas of Gilbert and Sullivan certainly deserve mention. In painting, the nineteenth century could hold its own with any century that had preceded it: Turner, Constable, Watts, Millais, Holman Hunt and Rosetti, each superb in his own province, were only the most illustrious of a large company.

Of this long list of authors, three may be selected as illustrating the revolt against the hitherto accepted standards of life and thought, namely, Dickens, Ruskin and Darwin.

Charles Dickens, 1812-1870.

The literary merits or demerits of Dickens are not our present concern: our business is with the light which his books throw upon the social conditions of his time. Dickens was a son of the people. His boyhood was unhappy,

subject to many changes, and short: at an early age he was compelled to begin to support himself and, by a combination of genius and perseverance, he became successively a worker in a blacking-factory, a lawyer's clerk, a newspaper writer, and a novelist. These various experiences provided the materials upon which he drew copiously for the characters, atmosphere and plots of his books. His own personal contact with the ill-treatment of children, the horrors of slumdom, the cruelties of workhouses, the evils of prisons, made his descriptions arrestingly graphic. In a lighter vein, his stories of inns, coaches, family life, swindlers and jokers are equally realistic.

Dickens' portrayal of characters and conditions is usually marked by exaggeration, but for this he cared nothing. He was concerned not merely to hold up a mirror to the evils of society but so to impress the conscience of the nation that those evils would be swept away; and if he could achieve that end most effectively by means of a distorting mirror, we dare hardly say that he was not justified in doing so. Dickens' novels touched masses of people who would have been unmoved by the arguments of politicians or by the appeals of humanitarian reformers; and the social reforms of the middle and end of the nineteenth century were due at least as much to the public opinion which Dickens had created as to the politicians through whom the measures were placed upon the Statute Book.

John Ruskin, 1819-1900.

John Ruskin was no less a rebel than Dickens against some of the prevailing characteristics of his age, though the two men were poles apart in their subject-matter and their styles. Ruskin began to write as an art critic and as an exponent of Turner. Gradually his range widened, and his plea for beauty and truth in art developed into appeals for beauty and truth in everyday life, including men's relations with their fellows. He declaimed equally

against the spoiling of Nature by ugly factories and towns and against the spoiling of the lives of the men and women who had to work and live in them. The evils which the industrialism of his day produced, he traced to the selfishness of capitalists, and as a remedy he advocated a species of socialism. As his reputation grew, his numerous books had an enormous circulation, for he wrote in a style whose beauty has rarely been matched in English prose; also he drew large audiences to the lectures which he delivered all over the country. Much of his later life was given to promoting the education of working men and to supporting a campaign for housing.

The intensity of Ruskin's convictions led him to exaggerations as extreme as those of Dickens, and few would now be willing to accept all the details of his conclusions. Nevertheless, in his own day he undoubtedly kept the public conscience alive to the dangers of industrialism and to the claim of beauty even in commonplace things. In our own day his message has not been altogether lost.

Charles Darwin, 1809-1882.

The nineteenth century's refusal to accept traditional views was shown most clearly of all in the realm of science. The writer with whom this scientific "progress" is characteristically associated was Charles Darwin.

At the opening of the nineteenth century, scientific ideas were crude and on a small scale. They were hampered especially by the generally accepted necessity of making explanations of natural phenomena agree with a word-for-word interpretation of the Bible. This view was supposed to involve a belief in the creation of the universe at a definite point of time: at that point, the earth was supposed to have received the shape which it had in the nineteenth century; the various races of men, and species of animals and plants, were also regarded as having been separately created. Some theorists ventured to date this act of creation to the specific year 4004 B.C.: the famous Arch-

bishop Ussher (1581–1656) had even computed that the event had taken place on 23rd October of that year!

This complacent acceptance of a world narrow in time and space began to be upset before the century had far advanced. In 1802 a French astronomer, *Laplace*, suggested that the bodies of the solar system (including the Earth) had all been thrown off from a great central Sun around which they still revolved. Another Frenchman, *Lamarck*, a naturalist of great distinction, in 1809 propounded the theory that the differences in detail between animals of the same general class—for example, the difference in colour between the grizzly and the polar bears—were due to the gradual influence of environment and that these differences could be transmitted to offspring. Next in the series was *Sir Charles Lyell*, an English geologist, who in 1830 published a book in which he contended that the formation of the Earth's surface was to be explained by the slow, continuous action of water, wind, and the like, such as could still be seen in operation. These notions could be reconciled to the commonly accepted literal interpretation of the Bible only with great difficulty, and they were either scoffed at or bitterly resented. They were, however, only the first mutterings of the great storm which was about to break.

In 1831, *Charles Darwin* went as naturalist to H.M.S. *Beagle* on her voyage of exploration in the Pacific. During the voyage he was deeply impressed by finding that though the same general classes of plants and animals were to be found in many of the Pacific Islands, each island had its own particular variety of those classes. This and other similar observations seemed to confirm the main theory of Lamarck; and after Darwin returned from the voyage in 1836 he gathered more and more information, and slowly elaborated his theory to explain the observed facts. By a singular coincidence, in 1858, when he had all his notes ready for a final treatise, he received from his friend, *Alfred Russel Wallace*, a letter which outlined a scientific

theory identical with that which Darwin was on the point of publishing.

Darwin's first great book, *The Origin of Species*, was published the next year (1859). The main thesis of the book was that the various species of animal and plant life were to be explained not by separate creation but by slow evolution from certain primitive types of living creatures and perhaps from one elemental type. Owing to the influence of surroundings, slight variations of each type appeared from time to time. Those variations which were especially useful to an animal (or plant) gave him an advantage over his fellows and tended to be transmitted to his offspring; in the struggle for existence, the animals who, of that same type, did not possess this new characteristic, would be killed off by those who did, and so a new species would gradually evolve. Darwinism has therefore come to be known as "Evolution". In 1871, Darwin published the *Descent of Man*, in which he boldly argued—what had been implied in his earlier work—that this theory was applicable to man as well as to the rest of the animals. As we have seen, Darwin did not originate these theories; but the thoroughness with which he elaborated them and the mass of exact scientific evidence which he collected and arranged in support of them, justify the application of the term "epoch-making" to his writings.

Naturally, the older scientists felt that Darwinism cut the ground from beneath them, and most Christian folk saw the very foundations of their faith—the infallibility of the Bible—crumbling before them. Fierce battles ensued, amid which Darwin himself was unmoved, for he was concerned only with the purely scientific aspect of his subject. Gradually, however, we are coming to understand that there is no necessary antagonism between religion and science: the Bible was intended to teach not science but God's relationship to man, and science has as yet no explanation of her own about the origin of matter either animate or inanimate.

2. THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

The Church, Early Nineteenth Century.

The previous paragraph has shown that there is a not unnatural transition from the subject of scientific literature to that of religion, which also shared in the general nineteenth-century upheaval of thought. Within the Established Church, the most notable events of the century were associated with the Oxford Movement. Though that Movement was concerned with reaction rather than with progress, it has had a bracing effect which has not been entirely limited to the Church of its origin.

The Oxford Movement dates from the year 1833. In original intention, it was similar to the Methodist Movement of a century earlier, which also had Oxford for its home. Though the general level of public morality was much higher at the beginning of the nineteenth century than it had been at the beginning of the eighteenth, and though the standard of the clergy in the Established Church was also higher, the Church itself was losing what grip it ever possessed on the masses of the people. Most of the clergy were linked, either by birth or by interest, with the squirearchy ; and, though they might be benevolently disposed towards their parishioners, they took their ecclesiastical duties as a matter of course rather than as part of a sacred calling. The bishops still belonged mainly to the aristocracy and were occupied with politics rather than with religion.

Of one section of the Church this was not true : the Evangelical Party, as we have seen, was aiming at doing within the Church what John Wesley had been compelled to do outside it, and was zealous in its regard for both the souls and the bodies of their fellows. William Wilberforce and the seventh Earl of Shaftesbury were notable but typical examples of the Evangelicals. Yet in one respect the attitude of these men tended to lower rather than to raise the religious prestige of the Church. To the

Evangelicals, the Bible, which they regarded as verbally inspired by God and therefore to be literally interpreted, was *the* source of religious authority. They thought of the organized Church as a human institution : it was a helpful means towards a good, Christian life, but its clergy were not a specially sacred priesthood. This was the typical Low Church position.

Meaning of the Movement.

The Oxford Movement was primarily a protest against these two features of contemporary Church life, that is to say, against the lethargy of the bulk of the clergy and against the " low " views of the Evangelicals. Its leaders were a group of Oxford men, among whom *John Keble*, Professor of Poetry, *Dr. Edward Pusey*, Regius Professor of Divinity, and *John Henry Newman*, Vicar of St. Mary's, the University Church, were to become the most famous.

The Movement started with an Assize sermon preached by Keble in July 1833 and afterwards published under the title of " National Apostasy ". A little later the leaders of the group began to issue a series of " Tracts for the Times " in which they expounded their views. Hence the supporters of the Movement are often known as Tractarians. Newman's *Tract Number XC*, which appeared in 1841, was the climax of the series : it urged that the Thirty-Nine Articles—which contained the doctrinal basis of the Established Church—were consistent with the doctrines of the Church as it stood before the Reformation. This was the central claim of the Tractarians. They were prompted to make that claim by the conviction that the Church would be rescued from its lethargy and from the position of inferiority resulting from the views of the Evangelicals only when it was no longer regarded as a human organization but was exalted as a divinely instituted body whose history stretched back unbroken to the days of Christ Himself and whose clergy were therefore priests with peculiar spiritual endowments. In order to emphasize this historical

continuity they claimed that the Reformation had turned the English Church aside from her proper line of development because, instead of merely removing certain abuses which had crept gradually into Church practices, the Reformation had changed the essential character of the Church itself. In short, they believed that the true doctrine was to be obtained by returning to the Church as it was before the reign of Edward VI. As expressing this doctrine, they began to adopt in their services the ceremonial and the vestments of the mediaeval Church. They claimed, moreover, that not the Bible as interpreted by each individual, but the inspired Church speaking through the Fathers and the Councils, was the source of religious authority. This exaltation of the Church implied the raising of the clergy to the position of intermediaries between God and man.

Results.

Suspicion and distrust were immediately awakened in the minds of the vast majority of the religious folk of the nation, both Anglicans and Protestant Dissenters. The mediaeval Church in England was the Roman Church; and the mediaeval vestments and doctrines which the Tractarians were reviving had therefore a close resemblance to those of the nineteenth-century Roman Catholics. Not unnaturally the general inference was that the Oxford Movement was only Roman Catholicism under a thin disguise. This point of view seemed to be confirmed when in 1845 Newman was received into the Roman Catholic Church of which in 1879 he became a Cardinal. Newman's secession to Rome was followed by that of a number of others, both clergy and laymen. But the bulk of the Tractarians, led by Pusey, remained to try to propagate their ideas within the English Church. They claimed that they were Catholics without being Roman Catholics, and in the course of time they have become known as Anglo-Catholics.

Their success has been amazing : among the clergy of all ranks, Anglo-Catholicism has captured many of the most intellectual and most deeply spiritual ; and among the laity they can reckon large numbers of supporters. Nor has the effect of Anglo-Catholicism been limited to numbers. It has restored dignity and order into many churches whose services were previously slack and unseemly. Its clergy have shown commendable zeal both in things spiritual and in care for the social needs of their parishioners. Moreover, this vitality has acted as a challenge to those who have remained outside the Movement, so that the whole Church has been invigorated. These are facts to which even the opponents of Anglo-Catholicism bear witness.

Nevertheless, Anglo-Catholicism is not without its dangers. In spite of the large numbers of its adherents, outside its ranks there are still large numbers who mistrust its Rome-like characteristics ; it has produced within the Established Church a division so sharp that the beliefs of that Church are not easy to define ; and its insistence upon the historic and priestly character of the Church makes a union between the Anglican and the Nonconformist Churches extremely difficult.

Broad Church.

Like all profound intellectual and religious movements, Tractarianism produced in due course a reaction against itself. Many Church of England members who were unable, through temperament or conviction, to share the views of Anglo-Catholics about the spiritual nature of the Church, began to emphasize the necessity for " practical Christianity ". These people, in contrast to the Anglo-Catholic " High Church " party, formed the " Broad Church " movement, its best-known leaders being two clergymen, Charles Kingsley (1819–1875) the novelist and Frederick D. Maurice (1805–1872) for several years the professor of English literature at King's College, London. Their views

led in two directions. First, they criticized some of the generally accepted Church doctrines and claimed that Christian beliefs must satisfy the reason. Secondly, they urged that Christianity ought to express itself in improving the conditions of the poor: in 1854 Maurice helped to found, and became the first Principal of, the Working Men's College; and both he and Kingsley were closely associated with the Christian Socialists.

Though these nineteenth-century divisions within the Church might seem to weaken that body as a whole, their existence was really a sign of keen life, and marked a sharp contrast to the condition of the Church in the eighteenth century when the nominal leaders did not take their responsibilities seriously enough even to dispute about beliefs and customs.

3. SCIENTIFIC INVENTIONS

To estimate which of the events of a period will be regarded as the most important by future ages is always difficult; but we may predict with some confidence that the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries will be remembered as the beginning of the era of applied science, the era, that is, in which the results of scientific discovery were applied to almost every realm of life.

Transport and Communications.

The most striking example of such application was the new methods of transport and communications. One effect of the Industrial Revolution had been an enormous increase of traffic—of raw materials and coal for the factories, and of manufactured goods from the factories to the ports and to the rest of Britain—so that even during the eighteenth century some attempts had perforce been made to grapple with the resulting problems of transport. Roads, in the modern sense, did not exist; the nearest approach to them were tracks whose surface, especially in winter, was unable to sustain the heavy loads and the constant traffic

which the new industrialism was placing upon them. Consequently an alternative method of transport was provided. About the year 1760 a *canal* was constructed near Manchester ; so successful did this prove that soon all the country was covered by a network of canals.

Meanwhile, some improvement began to be made in the state of the *roads*. Under Turnpike Acts, a landowner or other local authority could be given the right to levy a toll upon all who used a specified stretch of road, the tolls being used to keep the highway in repair. Even this measure could not be very beneficial until, about the year 1815, Telford and Macadam began to build roads on a scientific system : they removed the surface of the existing tracks, put down a foundation of large stones, laid smaller stones on top, and so built up to a fine rolled surface.

But not canals and improved roads together could cope with the ever-increasing traffic demands. Once more, necessity was the mother of invention ; and the outcome was the *railway*. Though several men contributed to the triumph of the railway, George Stephenson's claim to be regarded as its pioneer is firmly established. After many practical experiments, and some failures, Stephenson produced a locomotive that promised to do the work demanded of it more successfully than any other type of motive power. In 1825 a line was opened between Stockton and Darlington, and in 1830 another between Liverpool and Manchester. This was followed by a mania of railway building throughout the country. To build a railway meant the compulsory acquirement of a continuous track from the landowners concerned, and this could be accomplished only by Acts of Parliament. During the late eighteen-forties there was a wild railway boom : lines were laid down in all directions, often between the same places by rival companies, and an unnecessarily enormous amount of capital was thereby sunk. By the middle of the nineteenth century the whole country was linked up by a close railway network. At first much variation existed in the

methods adopted by the different lines. Even the gauges of the tracks differed widely: gradually two gauges—4 feet 8½ inches, and 7 feet respectively—became common, the narrower one being all but universal except on the Great Western Railway, which adhered to the 7 feet gauge until near the end of the nineteenth century. The reduction of this chaos to something resembling order was a slow process. In 1873 a Railway and Canal Commission was set up: this, with its powers extended as the need arose, has regulated rates and exercised general supervisory powers over the workings of the railways. In 1921 an important step was taken, in the interests of economy and of the prevention of overlapping, by the amalgamation of all the existing companies into four, namely, those recognized by the well-known abbreviations of L.M.S., L.N.E.R., G.W.R. and Southern.

One of the reasons for this need of economy was the railways' new rival, the *petrol-motor*. During the middle of the nineteenth century the railway had displaced the road as the chief means of communication; early in the twentieth century the road was having its revenge. Whether history will repeat itself, and whether new inventions on the railway—aided by overcrowding on the roads—will restore to the railways some of their former prosperity, we dare not predict. Meanwhile the petrol-driven aeroplane is extending its activities almost bewilderingly: between 1909, when Blériot's first flight across the English Channel demonstrated unmistakably the practical possibility of flying, and the present day, when world-flights have ceased to excite more than a passing interest, there have been such rapid leaps that the future can hardly be imagined.

Meanwhile, similar progress has been made in *oceanic* travel. As early as 1812 steamboats were in use on the Clyde; and in 1838 the steam-driven *Great Western* crossed the Atlantic from Bristol to New York. As the century progressed, there was a revolution in sea-transport scarcely less than that on land. Engines driven by crude

oil and by petrol are becoming increasingly common on ocean vessels.

A means of communication not less important than the various forms of transport was the introduction of the *Penny Post* in 1840. Previous to that date, the charge for postage had varied with the distance over which the letter was carried—ranging from twopence to one shilling and sixpence—and was paid not by the sender but by the receiver. This system was wasteful: vexatious calculations were necessary in order to determine the charge for each letter, and time was consumed by the collection of that charge from the receiver. The scheme for a uniform, prepaid charge of one penny for each letter was put forward in 1837 by Mr. (afterwards Sir) Rowland Hill. It was carried by Melbourne's Government in 1839 and became operative in January 1840. Hill's prediction that the reduced charge would be more than repaid by greater efficiency and by the increase in the number of letters sent was abundantly fulfilled, and before long nearly every civilized country had imitated the system.

In 1870 the State purchased the electric *telegraph* systems which formerly had been organized by private companies; and in 1912 the *telephone* also was acquired from the National Telephone Company. Both of these methods of communication were placed under the control of the Post Office which has subsequently been made responsible for the issue of wireless licences, though the actual operation of the wireless system is in the hands of the British Broadcasting Corporation.

The Great Exhibition, 1851.

The inventions in the methods of transport and communication were only one aspect of the application of science to daily life. During the nineteenth century machinery continued to displace hand labour in more and more of the processes of manufacture, and England was maintaining a long lead ahead of the rest of the industrial

world. To advertise the goods she had to offer, a Great Exhibition was held in 1851. The idea of the Exhibition, which was the first of its kind, originated with Prince Albert. He was anxious to foster British industry, but, even more, he was moved by the belief that the coming of representatives from other nations to view British products would emphasize the commercial interests which all the nations had in common, and so all the nations would tend to avoid war. Though the scheme was opposed by many British manufacturers, who feared that foreigners would thus learn our trade secrets, the Exhibition proved a great success. No suitable building being available to house the exhibits, a vast hall of iron and glass was erected in Hyde Park and was appropriately called the "Crystal Palace". Queen Victoria performed the opening ceremony, on 1st May 1851, and crowds visited the Palace until it was closed in mid-October. (The building was afterwards taken down and re-erected on its present site at Sydenham.) Unfortunately, the Prince's hope of a dawning era of peace, based on community of trading interests, was doomed to almost immediate disappointment: in 1854 the Crimean War broke out, and during the closing years of the century the tendency to wars increased.

Medicine and Surgery.

The application of scientific knowledge in medicine and surgery has perhaps been less obtrusive during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries than the application of such knowledge to methods of communications, but certainly it has been no less beneficial to mankind. Until well into the nineteenth century, the usual method of treating most ailments was by copious bleeding. Surgical operations were often performed with great skill; but, as anæsthetics were unknown, success depended as much upon swiftness as upon any other factor, which meant that an operation upon deeply seated disorders was impossible. Not uncommonly, even when an operation had

been performed successfully, the wound made by the knife became septic so that death ensued. Three great discoveries may be regarded as laying the foundation of modern medical and surgical practice.

First, in 1798, Dr. Edward Jenner, an English physician, made known his method of preventing small-pox by means of *Vaccination*. So general was the acceptance of his theory, that in 1853 the vaccination of infants was made compulsory, though subsequently this has been modified. The method of attacking disease by injections was greatly extended when in 1870 Professor John Tyndall published his theory that many diseases are due to the action of germs. Subsequent investigators have proved that such diseases can be counteracted by injecting into the patient anti-toxins from the bodies of animals affected by a similar disease. As the germ of one disease after another has been discovered, so those diseases have become amenable to treatment. This affords hope that some of the terrible diseases, such as cancer, which at present are incurable, may yet be conquered.

Second, in 1847 Sir James Simpson discovered—by experimenting upon himself and two assistants—that a state of unconsciousness could be produced by inhaling the vapour of *chloroform*. Henceforward the vast majority of surgical operations were painless, so that they could be much more prolonged than formerly and therefore could deal with more deeply seated evils. To few men is the human race more indebted than to Sir James Simpson.

Third, Lord Lister, a famous English surgeon, became greatly distressed by the large proportion of his patients who died through the putrefaction of wounds made during an operation. After much search and experiment, in 1876 Lister made known his discovery that such wounds, if dressed by carbolic acid, would remain clean and would heal healthily. From this revelation has developed the modern system of *antiseptics* which every year is responsible for saving untold suffering and thousands of lives.

CHAPTER XI

INDIA

1. CONDITIONS IN INDIA

The People.

THOUGH our present concern is with the later stages of British relations with India, we must remember that the history of India did not begin when the English first appeared in the land. For centuries before then, she had had a history of her own ; and in three respects especially that history had left profound effects upon her people.

The first effect was *racial*. We sometimes speak loosely of " Indians " as though the inhabitants of India were all of a uniform type and belonging to one race. Actually, the population is made up of many widely varying elements. The explanation is that through the centuries India has been subject to a succession of invasions from the north and that each invader has tended to push the existing population southward in much the same fashion as the early invaders of Britain from the east drove the Celts westwards into Wales. Evidence of the differences of race is to be found not only in the various physical types but also in the forty distinct languages and the innumerable dialects : the northerner and the southerner can understand each other only by using the English language as a common medium.

The second, and most important influence which history

has left on Indian life is that of *religion*. For the easterner, life and religion are inseparable; every item of daily routine and of a man's relations with his fellows is governed by religious scruples, so that to touch a man's life at any

INDIA. 1805.

point is to touch his religion. The vast bulk of the peoples of India belong to one or other of three religions, namely, Hinduism, Mohammedanism and Buddhism. Buddhism in India proper has relatively a very small following and is now scarcely met with outside Burma. Hinduism and

Mohammedanism together include at least nine-tenths of the population, the Hindus being probably three times as numerous as the Mohammedans. With the strictly religious life of the Indian peoples we are not now concerned; but one of the social effects of Hinduism in particular is of the highest consequence.

This brings us to the last of the three effects of history, namely, the *caste-system*. The Hindus are divided into sections called castes, the historical basis of which would seem to be that of race. The Sanscrit word for "caste" means "colour"; this supports other evidence that most of the castes represent divisions of the various peoples of the country. Some of the castes are associated with certain occupations: herdsmen, blacksmiths, barbers, writers belong to separate castes. Moreover, the caste to which an individual belongs is fixed by his birth: that is to say, he belongs to the caste of his parents. The castes are regarded as forming a series, from the almost sacred Brahmins at the top down to the men without any caste —the outcasts—at the bottom. Between these two extremes the other castes are ranged each in its order of precedence among the rest: the people among whom a Hindu may take food or find a wife or have other social dealings are strictly determined by caste tradition. If any of these rules is infringed, the offender becomes ceremoniously unclean and loses the respect of his fellows; a serious infringement may mean loss of caste.

The influence of each of these three factors of race, religion and caste is thus seen to be divisive, and their existence should warn us against thinking of India as a nation with common religious, political or social ideals. The practical effects of these divisions will become more apparent as we proceed.

Government.

At the opening of the nineteenth century, those parts of India that were under English control were governed

under the terms of *Pitt's India Act* of 1784 which had transferred political responsibility from the East India Company to the Government while allowing the Company to retain its commercial rights and privileges. The Governor-General and others of the higher officials were appointed by the Crown ; other posts were filled by the Company ; and, most important of all, British rule in India was to be exercised by a Board of Control of six persons nominated by the Crown and presided over by a Cabinet Minister. Under this Act, British India was governed until the Mutiny made Lord Derby's Act necessary in 1858. Steadily after 1784 British power grew in India. The man especially responsible for this growth was Lord Wellesley who, when he became Governor-General in 1798, found that the agents of the French had been busy in stirring up trouble for the British. During his wars to defeat the Indian allies of France, Wellesley brought large areas under the direct control of the British Crown. Indeed, his methods of expansion aroused so much misgiving in Britain, that in 1805 he was recalled, and during several years a more pacific policy was adopted.

2. FOUR GOVERNORS-GENERAL

Of the Governors-General who ruled in India between the opening of our period and the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857, four especially call for mention as making some outstanding contribution to the development of the country.

Lord Hastings, 1813–1823.

Lord Moira (better known by his later title as Marquis of Hastings) became Governor-General in 1813. He went out with the avowed object of avoiding further annexations and of organizing peacefully the areas already in British hands. Fate conspired to defeat his purpose, and he was compelled, in spite of himself, to adopt three large-scale military operations.

For some time, the *Gurkhas*—a hardy people of Nepal,

to the north of Bengal and Oudh—had been raiding the two latter provinces and their suppression could no longer be delayed. Between 1814 and 1816 campaigns were conducted against them and finally, after a stubborn resistance, they were completely overpowered. A strip of territory was annexed by Hastings, and ever since 1816 the Gurkhas have been some of the staunchest allies of Britain in India.

Hastings' preoccupation in the north encouraged disorder in central India where the chief power was the Confederacy of the four Mahratta chiefs ruling over fierce, warrior peoples. Among the Mahratta States were large bands of organized freebooters, called *Pindaris*, who lived by organized plunder of the countryside and whose raids were accompanied by terrible brutality and licence. Tribute paid by these freebooters induced the Mahratta chiefs to wink at their lawlessness. At last in 1816 Hastings determined upon a thorough repression of the marauders. Gathering together an army of 120,000 men, he hunted them down and destroyed them.

Next year the *Mahrattas* themselves rose and Hastings was compelled to fight them also. During 1817 and 1818 a desperate war was fought, and at the end the Mahrattas were completely subdued. Some land was annexed, and at the courts of the remaining Mahratta chiefs, a British Resident was appointed to ensure that the policy of the States was agreeable to British interests.

Hastings' immediate successor as Governor-General was Lord Amherst, during whose period (1823–1828) the only notable event was the first Burmese War, provoked by Burmese raids into British territory, and resulting in the annexation of Assam. Amherst's aggressive policy was distrusted by the home Directors, who feared that the Company's profits would be absorbed by the expenses of the military expeditions, and in 1828 Lord William Bentinck was sent to carry out a policy of peaceful reform.

Lord William Bentinck, 1828–1835.

Bentinck brought to his task considerable experience of Indian affairs: during Wellesley's régime, he had been the Governor of Madras. His administration as Governor-General was a turning-point in British relations with India; for Bentinck believed that the guiding-principle of the British in India ought to be the welfare of the natives, and that the only justification of British administration was that the subject-peoples should be better off than they would be under native rulers. He therefore carried out such reforms as admitting suitable natives to posts under the Company and forbidding flogging in the native regiments. His two most notable reforms were his abolition of suttee and thuggee.

Suttee was the religious custom which required the burning of a Hindu widow on the funeral pyre of her dead husband. This horrible cruelty had long provoked British protests, but fear of causing a religious outburst had prevented any interference with the custom. Bentinck, however, moved with pity for the sufferers—many of whom were still children—in 1829 forbade the practice of suttee.

The *Thugs* were a caste of north-east India who did sacrifice to their god Kali by killing wayfarers. In 1829 Bentinck began the suppression of the Thugs and so brought security to a sorely tried area.

During Bentinck's period, further changes were made possible by the expiration of the East India Company's Charter in 1833. The opportunity was taken to reshape, in certain important respects, the principles of British government in India. The Company ceased to be a trading company and became solely a medium of government, its shareholders being assured a 5 per cent dividend, and a fourth member was added to the Governor-General's Council with the duties of organizing Higher Education for the native Indians and of arranging for the codification of Indian law. The first Legal Member of the Council was Macaulay, who

decided that the medium of Indian education should be not any native language but English. Though the resulting "westernization" was in some ways to be regretted, it conferred the two-fold benefit of providing Indians with a common language and of opening to them modern scientific knowledge which would not have been accessible through any of their own languages.

Bentinck's Governorship thus heralded a new era for India; but, though his reforms evoked much less immediate opposition than might have been expected, his policy, continued and developed by his successors, touched deep religious and racial convictions and started the train which led ultimately to the explosion of the Mutiny.

Lord Auckland, 1836–1842.

Bentinck's successor, Lord Auckland, was occupied by troubles—mainly of his own provoking—in Afghanistan. His period as Governor-General coincided with the rise of Palmerston and with the growing dread of Russia's designs in the East. In 1833, the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi [1] established Russia as the protector of Turkey. Thereafter Russia's influence steadily expanded in northern Asia and in Persia, and her designs on India were seriously suspected by the British Government. The only route whereby Russia could invade India was through Afghanistan. Accordingly, as soon as Auckland became Governor-General, he, with the authority of the British Foreign Secretary, Palmerston, began to take steps to secure British influence in Afghanistan. Auckland's policy was to put upon the Afghan throne a prince who, because he owed his position to the British, could be relied upon to promote their interests. Such a prince was found in Shah Shujah, who had once been the ruler of Afghanistan but who, several years earlier, had been deposed by Dost Mohammed.

It was out of this situation that the *First Afghan War*

[1] Chapter XVI, Section 3.

arose (1838–1842). At the end of 1838 a considerable British force under General Elphinstone was sent into Afghanistan to restore Shah Shujah as Amir. Without great difficulty this was accomplished ; but so hostile were the fierce Afghans to the British puppet that a detachment of the British army had to remain to support him. Even this proved insufficient. In November 1841, unrest developed into rebellion ; the British army was in imminent danger from the overwhelming numbers of the Afghans, and Elphinstone agreed to evacuate the country on condition that his men were given safe-conduct. In January 1842 the British force of 4,500 soldiers and 12,000 camp-followers began to move from Kabul towards Jellalabad, 80 miles eastwards, where a British garrison was stationed. On the way they were treacherously attacked, and only one man of them lived to reach Jellalabad. The latter fortress gallantly held out, and in April 1842 its garrison even sallied out and routed the Afghans in a pitched battle. In March, Auckland had been superseded by Lord Ellenborough, who adopted the policy of defeating the Afghans, in order to re-establish British prestige, and then of evacuating the country. Armies were therefore despatched and, after severe fighting, Kabul was reached and ninety-five British prisoners—mainly women and wounded men left behind by Elphinstone—were released. Having thus done something to counteract the effect of the former defeat, the British allowed Dost Mohammed to return as the ruler of Afghanistan.

These were, however, only the beginning of troubles on the borders. In 1843 unrest in *Sind* was made an opportunity to annex the province, but this and other similar operations failed to win the approval of the Home Government, and in 1844 Ellenborough was replaced as Governor-General by Hardinge.

Hardinge, though a soldier, was genuinely devoted to a peaceful policy ; but circumstances were too strong for him. In the Punjab lived the *Sikhs*, who were not only a

race of strict *Hindus*, but were also keen fighters. They had watched the British defeats in Afghanistan and were thereby tempted to raid British territory. In 1845 they swept over the frontier in great force and were driven back only after stubborn fighting. Annexation was not enforced, but the Punjab was made a British Protectorate, and a British Resident was to be accepted. This proved, however, to be only a temporary settlement ; the Sikhs resented the Protectorate system, and in 1849 they caused further trouble. This time, not only were they defeated but the Punjab was definitely annexed and Dalhousie—who meanwhile had become Governor-General—organized the province on such sound and just lines that the Sikhs were completely won over to their new overlords. A striking proof of their loyalty was soon to be afforded : when only eight years later the Mutiny broke out, the Sikhs were among the staunchest native supporters that the British had in suppressing the rebellion.

Lord Dalhousie, 1848–1856.

Lord Dalhousie was one of the most remarkable administrators that Britain has ever sent to India, his only superior being Warren Hastings. In Peel's Ministry he had been Vice-President and then President—in succession to Gladstone—of the Board of Trade, and, both in the work of his Department and in debate, had shown promise of great achievement. Though only thirty-six years of age when he went to India, he wore himself out with restless energy so that on his return home eight years later he was a broken man and died in 1860.

In the principles of his government, Dalhousie was the successor of Bentinck : he aimed at extending the area of British India, not for the sake of mere acquisition or for the glory of conquest, but because he genuinely believed that Britain could give more efficient government than could the native princes. We have seen already how completely successful was his settlement of the *Punjab*

after the suppression of the Sikh rebellion. A similar course was followed in *Burmah*. In 1824, following the first Burmese War, the East India Company had secured a strip of Burmah and trading rights in that country. During Dalhousie's Governorship, these rights were repudiated by the Burmese, who also insulted British residents and threatened their lives. In 1852, therefore, an expedition invaded the country, and Lower Burmah was annexed. The government was reorganized and a reign of peace, such as the land had never before experienced, was inaugurated. One of the worst governed of all the Indian States was *Oudh* whose kings, since the time of Warren Hastings, had been close allies of the East India Company and a British Resident always lived at the Court at Lucknow. Yet its kings were wicked tyrants and the only government that the country knew was cruel oppression so that anarchy was perpetually rampant. The British Residents had repeatedly protested against the bad government, and the kings had been told by more than one Governor-General that improvement was imperative. At last Dalhousie decided to take the final step: in 1856 Oudh was formally annexed by the East India Company and, by the orders of the Directors, the King was deposed and lived henceforward as a State prisoner near Calcutta.

Another means whereby Dalhousie extended the area of British India was by reviving the *Doctrine of Lapse*. The death-rate of Indian children was extremely high, and not infrequently whole families died out. For a Hindu family thus to become extinct was held to be a disgrace, and it was commonly avoided by the adoption of an heir. When a childless ruler adopted an heir, the latter succeeded to the title as well as to the possession of his new parent's private property. An ancient Indian law had prohibited an adopted heir from succeeding to the dominions of his adoptive parent though such an heir could succeed to private property. The death of a childless ruler therefore meant that his dominions lapsed to his overlord—that

is, to the Mogul Emperor—in much the same way as it had done under the English feudal system. Dalhousie, seeing in this old custom a means of gradually extending British power in India, insisted that in the States which were closely bound to, or were dependent upon, Britain, the Doctrine of Lapse should be revived. In this way, four large Mahratta States and some smaller ones fell into the hands of the East India Company—as the paramount Power—during Dalhousie's régime.

Dalhousie's work was by no means limited to increasing the area under British control. Throughout the Company's dominions he gave himself unsparingly to improving the lot of the people. He promoted education by a continuous system of schools up to universities; he laid down railways—here his experience at the Board of Trade proved invaluable—and constructed harbours; he organized a telegraph service; and he promoted trade and agriculture. No single Governor-General ever did as much as Dalhousie for the welfare of his subjects.

There was, however, another aspect of his reforms. Though Dalhousie was moved by the desire to give to India the best possible government, the effect which his reforms had upon the native mind was often the reverse of what he intended. The native princes not unnaturally resented the revival of the Doctrine of Lapse, which they interpreted as an attempt to bring all India under direct British rule. Many of the people preferred the bad government of their own rulers to the efficient government of their white overlords. Most serious of all, many of Dalhousie's "westernizing" innovations gave offence to religious scruples, a subject to which we shall refer in the next section. By the time Dalhousie returned to England, there was a deep undercurrent of unrest throughout India, and, notwithstanding the nobility of his purposes and the benefits of his reforms, he was to no small degree responsible for the outbreak of the Mutiny.

Dalhousie's successor was Lord Canning, son of George

Canning who had been a distinguished Foreign Minister and, for a short time, Prime Minister of Great Britain. Canning, who was by nature a mild and even shy man, had hardly taken over the government when the Mutiny burst upon him.

3. THE MUTINY, 1857

Causes.

Enough has been said already to show that the causes of the Mutiny are to be found not in the events immediately preceding the outbreak but in the general religious and racial unrest produced by the westernizing innovations begun by Bentinck and developed by Dalhousie. The general distrust and suspicion which these innovations had aroused led the natives to interpret the most innocent actions of the British authorities as disguised attacks upon Indian religions. A few examples of the immediate causes of the outbreak will make this clear.

In July 1856 Canning issued an order which—contrary to previous usage—made the Sepoys of Bengal liable to overseas service, Burmah being the destination which the Governor had in mind. The Bengalese troops consisted mainly of Brahmins to whom the ocean was the "black water" the crossing of which was forbidden by their religion.

Similarly, recent prison orders had prohibited each native prisoner from preparing his own food—as had previously been the custom—and had arranged for meals to be served from a common kitchen. This method would obviously make for economy and efficiency, but it would prevent an Indian prisoner from being sure that his food had not been prepared by a man of lower caste who would pollute anything he touched. Both the overseas-service order and the prison regulation were issued with no other thought than efficiency, but we need not be surprised if the Indians interpreted them as attacks upon their religion, especially in view of the general suspicion already existing.

Latterly, also, British prestige had declined in India. The disasters in Afghanistan proved that the British were not invincible. News from the Crimea in 1854 and 1855 confirmed that impression, and the withdrawal of British

INDIA. 1858.

troops from India to reinforce the armies in the Crimea meant that there were at least seven native soldiers in the British army in India to every white soldier. These facts seemed to confirm the widely prevalent belief that British power in India would last only a hundred years,

and the beginning of that power was dated back to the Battle of Plassey, 1757.

Along with the religious causes of discontent there went the political discontent due to Dalhousie's " lapsed " States. In Oudh the resentment against annexation was especially bitter : the annexation of Oudh and the reorganization of its government were not complete when Dalhousie left India, and under Canning—who was not familiar with the conditions of land-holding—the settlement was carried out in a way that caused serious friction among the landowners.

The actual outbreak was provoked by the affair of the greased cartridges. In 1856 the old " Brown Bess " muskets were scrapped and a new Enfield rifle was served out to the troops. The cartridges for the new weapon were greased and, in the process of loading, the end of the cartridges had to be bitten off. The rumour spread among the Sepoys that the grease was a mixture of the fat of pigs and of cows : the pig was unclean to Mohammedans and the cow sacred to the Hindu. The new rifle and its cartridge seemed therefore to be a further attempt to insult the religion of the natives and to drive them towards Christianity. The British officers denied the truth of the rumour about the composition of the grease ; but the natives were right and knew that they were right, and the officers' denials, though made in good faith, added to the suspicion and distrust.

After the trouble had been brewing for some time, a number of Sepoys at Meerut were sentenced to imprisonment for refusing to use the cartridges : next day, 10th May 1857, the entire regiment mutinied, released their imprisoned comrades, and then ran amok, slaughtering Europeans wherever they were found. This explosion was the signal for the wider conflagration.

Delhi.

Forty miles from Meerut was Delhi, the ancient Mogul capital, and thither the mutineers flocked Out of respect

for Indian sentiment, no white soldiers were stationed at Delhi, and the native garrison received the mutineers enthusiastically. The decrepit Mogul was hailed as the Emperor of all India, and there was some danger lest what had begun as military unrest should spread into national rebellion. Every white person in Delhi was either murdered or imprisoned. A telegraph operator, before he was seized and murdered, had just time to send news to the Punjab where prompt action was taken and where the native regiments were disarmed. An equally prompt attack upon the centre of the disturbance might have quelled the Mutiny at the outset ; but the Commander-in-Chief, General Anson, was aged and hesitating, and he saw in the lack of adequate troops and guns a reason for delay. Every day fresh swarms of mutineers arrived at Delhi. As soon as Sir John Lawrence, the commander at Lahore, had made his position safe in the Punjab, he sent John Nicolson with every man he could spare towards Delhi. This contingent reached Delhi by the middle of August where it reinforced a body of troops that had taken up their position on the " Ridge " outside the city. By the beginning of September the British had 8,000 effective troops, and on the 14th September the attack on Delhi was opened. Nicolson was mortally wounded as he led the assault, but his men continued the struggle in the spirit which he had exemplified. For a week they fought their way step by step into the city until they held the Mogul's palace and sent away the Mogul himself as a State prisoner.

Cawnpore.

Meanwhile there were two other centres of revolt, namely, Cawnpore and Lucknow. At Cawnpore the British commander was Sir Hugh Wheeler, whose troops numbered less than 300, though there were also nearly three times as many European civilians in the city. The mutineers were led by a native prince, Nana Sahib. Early in June

Wheeler's force was besieged and, notwithstanding the terrible climate and other hardships, it continued to hold out for three weeks. Then, on 24th June, the British surrendered to Nana Sahib on condition that they were given safe conduct down the Ganges towards Allahabad. As soon as they reached the river, fire was opened upon them ; the majority were slaughtered, and the rest—men, women and children—became helpless prisoners except for one small boatload that escaped to tell the story. Sir Henry Havelock, hastily collecting 1500 men, advanced from Benares and, in a series of battles, defeated the forces of Nana Sahib. The latter, when he knew of Havelock's approach, massacred every remaining British woman and child, and then had their bodies hacked to pieces and flung down a well. On 16th July, Nana Sahib made his last stand and, being again defeated, fled to the north-west and was never heard of again.

Lucknow.

Havelock immediately pressed on to Lucknow, the capital of Oudh, where the Mutiny had been raging since the end of May. Notwithstanding shortage of food and the heat of the Indian summer (both of which encouraged the spread of cholera and fever among them), and the death of Sir Henry Lawrence, the gallant Resident, early in the siege, the besieged showed indomitable courage and kept up a ceaseless resistance. Meanwhile Havelock was trying to force his way through to relieve Lucknow, but time after time he was driven back by overwhelming numbers. In the middle of August, Sir Colin Campbell had landed in India with 20,000 men from the Crimea and, as Commander-in-Chief in India, began to organize a general campaign of suppression. A month later Sir James Outram brought to Havelock at Cawnpore 2,500 men. The combined force advanced towards Lucknow and, by 25th September, fought its way into the city. But so serious had been its losses that, when once in, all that

it could do was to reinforce the garrison and to hold out until Campbell himself appeared. The besieged force was still in a perilous position. At last, on 15th November, the skirl of the Highland pipes could be heard in the distance, and on 17th Campbell was inside the Residency, and Lucknow was saved.

The back of the Mutiny was now broken, but many months of patient work were necessary before all disaffection was thoroughly stamped out. This was not completed until April 1859.

Reasons for Mutiny's Failure.

Not a little of the credit of handling the unprecedented difficulties of Indian government should go to the Governor-General. Though Lord Canning had no notable achievements to his credit when he was sent to India, the crisis seemed to develop in him latent qualities of greatness. In the darkest days he maintained an even self-command which nothing could disturb. While the Mutiny was in progress he resolutely refused to countenance any measures of vengeance, and though this policy—which won for him the name of "Clemency Canning"—was often derided as weakness, it prevented the embitterment of Indian feeling and it made possible a rapid settlement after the revolt was over.

At first sight, the survival of the tiny British garrisons among overwhelming numbers of hostile natives seemed little short of miraculous. In reality, the strength of the mutineers was deceptive, and the failure of the Mutiny was due chiefly to that fact. The divisions of race and religion meant that anything approaching a national movement was impossible: the Sikhs, for example, hated the Indian Moslems more than they did the British Christians, and many native regiments remained loyal to Britain. Consequently the disaffection remained an army mutiny and never spread into a popular revolution; most of the native princes and the mass of the peasants took no share in the outbreak.

Also, the area affected was limited to the upper Ganges valley, though in 1858 trouble spread in the Central Provinces but was eradicated by the energetic and brilliant campaigns of General Sir Hugh Rose. The fury of the mutineers was thus concentrated upon a few small garrisons, so that the British relief operations were correspondingly simplified and effective.

4. AFTER THE MUTINY

Lord Derby's Act, 1858.

Though the Mutiny failed, the British power in India had received a rude shock and things could never again be the same as before. The last embers of the revolt had not been stamped out when an India Bill was introduced by Lord Derby's Ministry and quickly became an Act (August 1858). By its terms, the East India Company ceased to exist; the Company's powers and lands were transferred to the Crown, and India was to be administered by a Secretary of State assisted by a Council of fifteen members appointed by the Secretary. This Act carried to a logical conclusion the transference—begun by the Regulating Act, 1773, and continued by Pitt's Act, 1784—of Indian government from the Company to the State, a position emphasized by the Governor-General's new title of "Viceroy".

The Queen's Proclamation announcing the changes introduced by Lord Derby's Act made clear that there would be no reprisals carried out in a spirit of vengeance, that the religious convictions of her Indian subjects would be carefully respected, and that the basis of governmental policy would be to rule in the interests of the governed, a policy summarized by the declaration: "in their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward". This object of binding the Indian to Britain in a spirit of loyalty was carried still further by the visit of the Prince of Wales

(afterwards King Edward VII) to India in 1875 and 1876, and the Queen's assuming the title of "Empress of India" on 1st January 1877.

But though everything possible was done to wipe away the bitter effects of the Mutiny, its lessons were not forgotten. The proportion of British to native troops in India was not to fall below one in four—though not until Cardwell's Army Reforms was this aim achieved—and the artillery was to be solely in the hands of the British. More important still, reforms were henceforward carried through with a more sympathetic regard for the susceptibilities of the natives: for example, the Doctrine of Lapse as applied by Dalhousie was frankly abandoned.

Second Afghan War, 1878–1880.

This wiser treatment resulted in a long period of peace in India, and the disturbances which occurred were mainly on the frontiers. The most serious were in Afghanistan in 1878–1880 when the second Afghan War took place. This, like the first War of 1838–1842, was due to fear of Russian influence on the frontiers of India. British policy since the former War had been one of friendly non-intervention in Afghanistan, though the steady advance of the Russian Empire eastwards into Asia caused uneasiness in Britain from time to time. Our study of foreign affairs during the nineteenth century [1] will show that the fear of Russia, not only in Asia but also in Europe, was one of the chief factors in British politics. The object of the Congress of Berlin [2] in 1878, for example, was chiefly to check Russian ambition in the Balkans. Immediately after that Congress closed, news reached England that a Russian envoy had been received by the Amir of Afghanistan. British suspicions became intensified, and Lord Lytton the Viceroy sent a representative, with a suitable retinue, to confer with the Amir on the resulting situation and to ensure that British interests should be safeguarded.

[1] Chapters XV, XVI. [2] Chapter XVI, Section 5.

When the envoy was refused admission into Afghanistan, British suspicion became certainty : Russian influence was becoming paramount in Afghanistan, and preventive measures must be taken before too late. In November 1878 Britain declared war.

Considerable British forces in three columns at once moved over the frontiers. Late in 1879 Sir Frederick Roberts made a brilliantly rapid advance and, early in October, reached Kabul where in May 1880 he was reinforced by Sir Donald Stewart from Kandahar. But the British force left to occupy Kandahar was meanwhile overwhelmed by Afghan tribesmen and cut to pieces. This action inflamed the whole country, and the position of the British armies was highly precarious. To save the position, Roberts was sent with 10,000 picked men to march from Kabul to Kandahar, a distance of nearly 320 miles, through terrible campaigning country. This operation also was a brilliant success ; the British remnant at Kandahar was relieved ; and the Afghan forces were attacked and routed. The war was at an end.

A hardly less difficult problem remained for solution, namely, to arrange a permanent settlement of the country. The crux of the difficulty was to find a native ruler who would be both strong enough to maintain his own throne and reliably friendly towards British India. Such a man was fortunately found in an Afghan prince named Abdur Rahman. In return for British support, in the shape of money and munitions, he received a permanent British Resident who guided the foreign relations of the country. The new Amir proved to be thoroughly capable and reliable, and a period of more settled conditions ensued for north-west India. A Convention of 1907 between Britain and Russia—following the Entente [1] between Britain and France—still further eased the situation : northern Persia was to be regarded as a Russian "sphere of influence" and southern Persia as a British sphere ; further, Russia

[1] Chapter XIX, Section 1.

agreed not to interfere in any way with Afghanistan. Matters stood thus when in 1914 the Great European War broke out. That War showed the advantage to Britain of control in Afghanistan : the ruling Amir maintained a consistent neutrality and in particular prevented his country from becoming a gateway for German forces into India.

Morley-Minto Reforms, 1909.

Meanwhile political developments had been taking place within India. The Queen's Proclamation of 1858 had foreshadowed closer and more sympathetic co-operation between the Home Government and its Indian subjects. Further, the spread of western education among the more enlightened classes of India meant that the time was approaching when, at least to those classes, some voice in the country's government would have to be granted. Indeed, the avowed objective of British statesmen was to concede increasing measures of self-government to India as her peoples became fitted for the responsibility. A small beginning was made by the Indian Councils Act of 1861 which increased the number of members of the Governor-General's Council so as to secure some representation of native interests, and similar provincial Councils were set up in Bengal, Madras, Bombay and the North-West Provinces. Further extensions in the size and scope of the Councils were made by an Act of 1892. The importance of the Acts is not so much in what they did as in the desire they showed to accustom Indians to the responsibilities of government.

The Liberal Government which came into power in Britain in 1906 was favourably disposed to the extension of political privileges. (We have seen already its efforts for Irish Home Rule.) The new Secretary for India was Lord Morley who, in conjunction with Lord Minto the Viceroy, worked out a new series of reforms which in 1909 were incorporated in an Act of Parliament. They took the form of enlarging still further the Legislative Councils both

of the Viceroy and of the provinces. A proportion of the members of these Councils was to be elected, the franchise being designed to secure the representation of the various racial, religious and industrial sections of the community.

Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, 1919.

When the War broke out in 1914, Indians of all ranks and classes rallied to support Great Britain and the Allies. The sense of loyalty thus evoked seemed to promise some hope that a larger measure of self-government could be safely granted. Accordingly, Montagu, the Secretary for India, and Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, co-operated as their predecessors had done in shaping a scheme likely both to meet the needs of the time and to secure the approval of India. Some of the proposals aroused the bitter opposition of various sections of the peoples, but the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms finally took shape in the Government of India Act of 1919. This provided for a two-chamber system of government: the Upper House being a Council of State and the Lower a Legislative Assembly, each of these consisting partly of nominated and partly of elected members. In the case of disagreement between the Viceroy and the Assembly, the Viceroy had the power, in circumstances defined by the Act, to override the Assembly. The Act thus conferred some measure of Representative, as distinct from Responsible, Government—terms which will be more exactly explained in our next chapter. In the Provincial Legislatures, each consisting of two Houses and a Provincial Governor, an instalment of Responsible Government was granted: certain governmental business was to be reserved for the Governor and his Council, but other matters were to be dealt with by the elected Assembly. This system, whereby some matters of government were dealt with by natives and others were reserved for the Governor's decision, was known as Dyarchy (that is, double-rule).

Simon Commission.

The Act was avowedly only a further step towards the goal of fully responsible government, and it provided that after ten years a Commission should sit to consider the Act's operation. In the meantime, the critical question was whether the new form of government would secure the co-operation of the Indian peoples. From the outset a large section of the population, disappointed in its hopes of Home Rule for India, did its utmost to make the Act unworkable. The leader of this movement was Gandhi who, though advocating peaceful methods of protest, was not always able to restrain from violence the large numbers of Indians who looked to him as leader.

In 1927 the Commission foreshadowed in the 1919 Act was set up with Sir John Simon as its Chairman. There was a general feeling that the time had come for overhauling the Constitution. Two difficulties in particular, among many others, would have to be faced. First, Britain is directly responsible for only a part of India. One-third of the country is ruled by native princes. These princes recognize Britain as the paramount power over the whole of India, including the native States: a native prince may not have diplomatic dealings with another prince or with an outside Power, and he must maintain a certain minimum of order and good government within his dominions. In other respects a native prince is an independent ruler, raising his own taxes, maintaining his own law-courts which administer their own code of law, and governing a people who are his subjects and are not the subjects of Britain. This must not be taken to imply antagonism between the native princes and their suzerain; on the contrary the relationship is in general one of friendly co-operation, as was shown by the lavish and spontaneous support which the Indian princes gave to Britain during the War of 1914–1919. Nevertheless the existence of the princes, the inequalities in the sizes of their dominions

and in their relations with the British Government, all complicate the problem of erecting an agreed Constitution for the whole country.

The second difficulty was a racial and religious one. The possible extension of self-government in India awakened acute uneasiness among certain sections of Indians who feared that the granting of additional powers to natives would give to the majority the opportunity to oppress the minorities : for example, would not the Hindus, who enormously outnumbered the members of any other religious body in India, legislate to the disadvantage of the Mohammedans and the outcasts ?

After exhaustive deliberations, both in Britain and in India, the Simon Commission published its report in 1930. The main recommendations were the abolition of Dyarchy, the establishment of a federal system of government, and, in order to safeguard the minorities, the granting of separate representation to various classes of the population.

CHAPTER XII

CANADA

1. THE "SECOND BRITISH EMPIRE"

End of the "First Empire".

AT the close of the Seven Years' War in 1763 Britain was clearly marked as the colonizing nation of the world. From France—her only serious rival of recent years—she had wrested Canada; and Clive's victory at Plassey in 1757 had ensured that British and not French influence should become supreme in India. These acquisitions, added to the thirteen colonies in America south of the St. Lawrence and to her West Indian possessions, put Britain at the head of a world-wide Empire. Yet within twenty years of 1763, that Empire seemed to be in danger of disruption. In 1775 the thirteen North American colonies had revolted, and by 1783, with French help, they had secured their independence. The oversea dependencies remaining to Britain after this loss were either small in size or undeveloped. In Canada the only settlers were the French around Quebec. In India, the East India Company possessed as yet only a few isolated trading stations. Australia had been proclaimed as British territory in 1770, but no white settlers had gone there. Elsewhere Britain owned islands like Malta or small bits of land like Gibraltar. The loss of the American colonies seemed to mark the end of the British Empire. Moreover, British politicians were

increasingly holding the view that colonies were nothing but a drain upon and a nuisance to the mother-country, and that the loss of the other British possessions would be but a disguised blessing. Had these ideas prevailed, not only would no fresh colonies have been added but no effort would have been made to develop those already owned.

Edward Gibbon Wakefield.

Britain was saved from this fate by the efforts of a small group of enthusiasts, chief among whom was Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Wakefield had been born in 1796 into a home where extreme democratic opinions were strongly held and where such Radicals as Francis Place [1] were common visitors. As a young man, he grew into a wastrel who threw away chance after chance of promotion in Government service. Yet the influences of his home remained with him, and in 1830 he formed a Colonization Society, the chief members of which, along with Wakefield, were Lord Durham and Charles Buller. The Society, realizing that the American colonies had been lost through a short-sighted mercantile policy, claimed that a more enlightened policy applied to the remaining colonies would retain their loyalty to Britain and would promote the welfare both of the colonies and of the mother-country.

The early nineteenth century was, as we have seen, a period of acute and widespread distress, and Wakefield regarded the colonies as a means of relieving that distress: colonies were places where unemployed people could be sent, where raw materials for the new British manufactures could be produced, and where a growing population would provide markets for British manufactured goods. He therefore urged that the Government should promote schemes for colonial development. His own proposals were that, instead of holdings being granted freely to immigrant labourers, lands should be sold at reasonable

[1] Chapter II, Section 1; and Chapter VII, Section 1.

prices and that the money thus obtained should be used to transport suitable workers who would be employed by the new landowners. This scheme would prevent people from taking more land than they could cultivate and would foster emigration without cost to the Government.

The enthusiasm of Wakefield and his fellows, and the influence which they were able to wield in Government circles (Lord Durham was one of the leading Whig supporters of the 1832 Reform Bill) gradually created among the politicians a more favourable attitude towards colonies. The result was the development of Australia and New Zealand as well as of Canada. Also, because the members of the Colonization Society were Radicals, they did their utmost to secure popular government in the new colonies and so to prevent revolts in them such as occurred in North America. We shall see that Lord Durham emphasized this principle in his 1839 Report on Canada. Fortunately the British Ministers, having learned the lesson of the loss of the American colonies, were wise enough to carry out the suggestion of Durham's Report and to grant self-government not only to Canada but, as circumstances made it advisable, to other colonies also.

Thus, after the loss of the "First Empire" in North America, there grew up a "Second Empire" spreading all over the Globe. Though its ties with the mother-country were less rigid than the former ones, they were more secure because they consisted of the affectionate good-will of the colonists.

Colonial Constitutions.

A glance at a map of the world shows an enormous number of places coloured red to indicate British territory. Some of these are mere points such as tiny Pacific islands, others are great stretches of land such as India or Australia. To each of these the British authorities have had to apply a suitable form of government; but, though the conditions vary considerably from place to place, the Constitution—

that is, the governmental system—of every British dependency falls into one or other of four groups.

1. *The Crown Colonies* are, as their name implies, governed by the British Crown acting through a Governor. The latter may be the official commanding the garrison; more usually, especially in the larger Crown Colonies, he is a civil Governor appointed by the Crown and assisted by a Council of his chief officials.

2. *Representative Government.* As the number of the colonists grows, or as the inhabitants become more civilized, they are given some voice in their own government. The particular form which this concession takes depends upon local circumstances: the Governor may invite a few prominent colonists to attend the meetings of his Council, or the colonists may be allowed to elect some of themselves as members of that Council, or they may be granted the right to elect a separate Legislative Assembly. The essential characteristic of Representative Government is that there is an elected element in the Constitution, but that, if a dispute arises between the colonial representatives and the Governor, it is the will of the latter and not of the colonists which is supreme. In Representative Government, therefore, the colonial representatives are powerless either to select Ministers or to enforce the retirement of the officials appointed by the Governor.

3. *Responsible Government* is distinguished from Representative Government because Ministers are responsible not to the Governor but to the elected House. In colonies which have Responsible Government the pivot of the government is a Cabinet of Ministers similar in principle to that of Great Britain, though differing from it perhaps in the details of its working.

4. *Federal Government.* In some colonies the area to be governed is so vast that to organize an efficient government from one centre is almost impossible. Some of the colonies —Canada and Australia, for example—have therefore adopted a federal system of government. The country is

divided into states or provinces each of which is responsible for its own local affairs, but each also sends representatives to a central parliament to deal with those matters which concern the colony as a whole. Federal Government is in principle only an adaptation of Responsible Government to meet the circumstances of particular colonies.

This classification of constitutions is important for our purpose because all the great self-governing Dominions have passed through various constitutional stages as they have developed, though, as we have seen, not all of them have needed a federal system.

To trace the history of all the red-marked spots on the world-map is obviously impossible for us. Having dealt already with Ireland and India, we shall confine our attention to the four self-governing Dominions of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

2. EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CANADA

Quebec Act, 1774.

By the Treaty of Paris of 1763 which closed the Seven Years' War, Canada passed from French hands to British. Its only white population consisted of French settlers on the St. Lawrence in the area now included in the province of Quebec. These people were very different, both in outlook and in experience, from the British colonists south of the St. Lawrence : the French had not been accustomed to any kind of self-government and they were Roman Catholics. For a decade they were ruled by the commander of the British troops in Canada. Then in 1774 the government of the colony was put on a more permanent basis by the Quebec Act, which set up full Crown Colony Government. Roman Catholicism was recognized as the religion of the colony ; the criminal law was to be that of England, and the civil law that of France ; and the government was to be exercised by a Governor and a Council, both nominated by the Crown.

Canada Act, 1791.

Within twelve months of the passage of the Quebec Act, the situation in North America was transformed by the revolt of the thirteen colonies. Indeed, one reason why Lord North had introduced the Act had been the growing bitterness between those colonies and Britain, and the desire to prevent the spread of trouble north of the St. Lawrence. The success of the measure in this respect was shown by the refusal of the Canadians to join the thirteen colonies in their struggle for independence; even when France joined the colonies in 1778, the Canadians refused to rise in favour of their former homeland against their new sovereign—a striking tribute to the justice which they had received in the Quebec Act. By the Treaty of Versailles of 1783 the thirteen colonies received their independence and so became the United States of America; but there were large numbers of their inhabitants who had never favoured the policy of revolt and who did not wish for separation from Britain. These "loyalists" were regarded by their fellows as traitors and were subject to all kinds of persecution. So intolerable was their position that they began to leave their homes and to make for British territory. The obvious place for settlement was Canada, and during the years following 1783 some 50,000 entered Canada from the United States and settled permanently west of Quebec and also in New Brunswick east of it. In 1789, George III granted to them the title of "United Empire Loyalists".

Their advent created new problems in Canada. Unlike the French in Quebec, the newcomers had been accustomed to a large measure of self-government. Also the Loyalists had moved from their homes in order to keep within British territory, and to allow them less freedom than they would have enjoyed had they remained in the United States would have been extremely unjust. On the other hand, to grant a measure of self-government to the colony

as a whole would have placed the Loyalists under the control of the French who were still by far the more numerous section of the population. In 1791 Pitt introduced a Bill which passed through Parliament as the Canada Act and which overcame the difficulties by dividing the colony into two provinces, Upper Canada (Ontario) and Lower Canada (Quebec). In each province there was to be a Lieutenant-Governor, a nominated Council and an elected Assembly. Over both provinces was a Governor-General. The Assemblies had power to pass laws, but if a dispute arose between them and the Governor they had no power to enforce their will against his. In a word, the Canada Act granted Representative but not Responsible Government.

3. LORD DURHAM

Effects of Canada Act.

At first the new system worked well, and Canada developed rapidly. Its growth was aided by the widespread distress in Britain where unemployment and low wages encouraged large numbers of labouring folk to try their fortunes in the colonies. But before long a flaw in the working of the Canada Act began to reveal itself. This was connected with the membership of the Upper House in each of the provinces. In England the House of Lords consisted almost entirely of hereditary peers, and when a new peer was created there was usually some obvious reason for the creation. In Canada, conditions were very different. There was no historical aristocracy from which to select members of the Upper Houses, and the result was jealousy on the part of some families who were overlooked. As time passed, the successive Governors—each of whom was new to his province and therefore tended to follow precedents set by his predecessor—seemed to look to the same few families to provide the members of the Upper House. As new immigrants arrived in increasing numbers from

England, the anomaly of government by a clique of families caused bitter resentment. In the province of Quebec the unrest was intensified by racial antagonism because the French disliked being ruled by an English Governor and Council.

A further cause of grievance was that in both provinces the Government had set apart one-seventh of the land for the support of the clergy of the Anglican Church. Most of this land remained uncultivated because as yet there were few clergy of that Church in Canada; also, as only a small proportion of the settlers were Anglicans—the United Empire Loyalists were mostly Nonconformists and the French were Roman Catholics—much ill-feeling was aroused.

At the root of all these various causes of discontent was the limitation imposed by the Canada Act upon the powers of the elected Assemblies; that is, the colony had Representative without Responsible Government.

Rebellions, 1837.

In 1837, following the proclamation of Victoria as Queen, rebellions broke out in both provinces, the object of the rebellions being to obtain independence of Great Britain. In Quebec the rebel leader was a Frenchman named Papineau and in Upper Canada a Scot named Mackensie. At no time had the rebellions the slightest possibility of success. Only small bodies of malcontents supported them, and the Government forces suppressed them quickly and easily.

Suppression, however, did not remove the causes of unrest, and Lord Melbourne's Ministry wisely decided to make a thorough inquiry into the whole question of Canadian government. The Constitution of Canada was temporarily suspended, and Lord Durham was sent out as Governor-General with wide—and vague—powers of inquiry and settlement. With him he took Gibbon Wakefield and Charles Buller.

The choice of Durham for the difficult task had every appearance of being a happy one. As a Radical and as a

supporter of enlightened views on colonial development he was likely to inspire the confidence of the most progressive colonists. Unfortunately with his liberal views Durham combined an overbearing manner and a rashness of action which soon caused more trouble than he allayed. He landed in Canada in May 1838, and immediately proceeded to crush out the remainder of the revolt. Eight of the ringleaders of the rebellion were deported to Bermuda, and others who had fled into the United States of America were warned that execution awaited them if they returned. These measures were illegal: Durham had no right to deport men from Canada, nor had the Governor of Bermuda any authority to receive them; and to threaten men with death was contrary to legal principle and to the liberty of the individual. Such actions aroused bitter ill-feeling in Canada, and the Home Government made clear that it did not support Durham. The latter, finding himself opposed in the Colony and unsupported in Britain, left Canada in November 1838. This ended Durham's political career, and in 1840 he died a broken man.

Report, 1839.

Though Durham may have been indiscreet, he was courageous and far-seeing. Brief as his stay in Canada had been, it had sufficed to show him the root cause of the trouble, and in 1839 he issued his famous Report which contained a penetrating analysis of the situation and proposals for thorough-going reforms in colonial government. He recommended that the two provinces should be united under one government, that the Executive Council should be responsible to the elected Assembly, and that the Home Government should promote emigration and supervise the settlement of the immigrants. The principles expressed in these recommendations were those of Gibbon Wakefield and the Colonization Society, and there can be no doubt that Durham's secretaries—Wakefield and Buller—influenced considerably the terms of the Report.

In 1840 Parliament passed the *Reunion Act*, which incorporated most of the recommendations of Durham's Report. The separate Assemblies of the two provinces ceased to exist ; a two-chamber Parliament was established for the reunited colony and was to consist of an elected House of Representatives and a Council nominated by the Governor. The Act contained no mention of the responsibility of Ministers, and for several years there was some variety in the practice adopted : sometimes the Governor filled ministerial posts with men who had the confidence of the majority in the House of Representatives and sometimes with others. In 1847, Lord Elgin, who was Durham's son-in-law, became Governor-General. He shared Durham's views, and he consistently followed the British custom of choosing his Ministers from the majority-party in the elected House, and this precedent was observed by his successors. Thus the basic principle of Lord Durham's Report was put into operation. Canada was the first British colony with full Responsible Government.

The significance of Durham's Report was not limited to Canada. The latter half of the nineteenth century was a period of general colonial expansion, and the success of Canadian self-government encouraged the application of the principle elsewhere. As the other colonies developed, they also were entrusted with Responsible Government—most of the Australian colonies in 1854, New Zealand in 1856, Cape Colony in 1872, and even the Transvaal Boers, after the second Boer War, in 1906. With some exaggeration, perhaps, but with much justice, Durham's Report of 1839 has been called the "Magna Carta" of the British Empire.

Boundary Settlement.

There remained one question whose settlement was essential to the progress of the reunited colony, namely, the defining of the boundary between Canada and the United States of America. The expansion of both countries

towards the west made that definition more and more imperative. In 1842 agreement was reached about the boundary of the State of Maine: the United States were given liberal terms, and Maine was allowed to stretch northward nearly to the St. Lawrence. Nearer the centre of the continent, the Great Lakes were recognized as forming a natural boundary; but west of the Lakes the frontier-line was the cause of sharp dispute. The United States claimed that the boundary should follow the 54° 40′ parallel of latitude, a contention expressed in their slogan of "Fifty-four forty or fight". This boundary would have robbed Canada of her rich prairie lands, and the *Oregon Treaty* of 1846 fixed the parallel at 49° as the boundary. Between the two countries the frontier as thus defined stretched for 3,000 miles. The problem of the defence of such a frontier would be an enormous one; and both Governments showed their good sense by undertaking not to fortify it and, still more, by keeping their promise. The undefended frontier between Canada and U.S.A. stands to-day as a striking object-lesson of what can be accomplished by mutual good-will and trust.

4. FEDERATION

Conditions after 1840.

Time revealed two weaknesses in the working of the Reunion Act. First, after 1840 the population of Canada increased to an extent which had not been anticipated when the Act was passed. The distress in Britain in the eighteen-forties—in England particularly before the 1846 repeal of the Corn Laws, and in Ireland after the Famine of 1845—caused many thousands of families to emigrate. The poor emigrants naturally went to the nearest colony, which was Canada. Some of them settled in Upper or in Lower Canada, while others went either to the States east of those provinces or to the undeveloped lands west of them. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward

Island had not been included in the terms of the Reunion Act, but each of them had since been granted Responsible Government. This division of Canada under separate authorities was not likely to promote efficiency or the development of the country as a whole. Also, as the western areas were opened up, the lack of communications would prevent their being properly administered from any one centre.

Second, the Reunion Act, though bringing Upper and Lower Canada under one government, had not eradicated the racial antagonism between the two provinces. On the contrary, the resulting contacts of the two peoples—so different from each other in race, religion and customs—only embittered their relationships.

British North America Act, 1867.

What was evidently needed was some form of government which, while preserving freedom and responsibility to each of the separate States, would also safeguard the unity of the colony as a whole. With this object in view, conferences of representatives of the States began to be held in 1864. Finally in 1867 the British North America Act was passed. This Act established the Dominion of Canada, composed of the four Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. The Parliament of the Dominion was to consist of two Houses, namely, the Senate of life-members nominated by the Governor-General and the House of Commons of members elected for five years. In both Houses the number of members allotted to each province was to be proportional to the population of the province. The Ministers were to be chosen from the party in power in the House of Commons, so that the principle of Responsible Government was secured. In addition, each of the four provinces was to have its own elected Parliament and its Lieutenant-Governor appointed by the Governor-General. The provincial Parliaments were empowered to legislate and to raise revenue for

matters of local interest only, all other matters being the business of the Federal Parliament. To the Confederation thus established other provinces might be added when the development of Canada made additions desirable.

Hudson's Bay Company.

Two obstacles now stood in the way of the colony's development, namely the monopoly held by the Hudson's Bay Company and the lack of communications westward. Both these obstacles began to be removed shortly after 1867.

A royal charter as early as 1670 had granted to the Hudson's Bay Company the monopoly of trading and settlement within an area vaguely described as that of the basins of the rivers flowing into Hudson's Bay. The Company had never had a flourishing financial success, but it had carried on a steady trade in furs and had erected certain forts as trading depots, and in the nineteenth century it was still responsible for the government of the Hudson's Bay area. The interests of the Company and of the Canadian Federation were mutually antagonistic. The Federation was keen to promote the settlement and cultivation of the west, but such expansion would correspondingly diminish the area frequented by the fur-bearing animals from which the Company derived its profits. The march of civilization was evidently against the Company, and in 1869, after much dispute and negotiation, the Federation bought the Hudson's Bay Territory from the Company, which retained only certain trading rights. Out of these lands the new province of Manitoba was carved, and was joined to the Dominion (1870); the remaining lands of the Company to the north-west were to be administered by the Dominion as they had previously been by the Company.

Canadian Pacific Railway.

The problem of communications was solved by a railway. The impetus to its building was given by the discovery of gold about the year 1856 on the Fraser River near the

western seaboard. The usual rush of all manner of persons from all manner of places immediately ensued, and the motley populace had somehow to be governed. In 1858 a new colony, called British Columbia, was established and was administered as a Crown Colony. Steady growth, both in population and in wealth, followed. In 1866 British Columbia and Vancouver Island united together; and in 1871 the colony was admitted, at its own request, as a member of the Dominion of Canada. One of the promises made to British Columbia when the federating agreement was signed was that a railway to connect the Pacific seaboard with the railway system of Canada should be begun within two years and completed within ten years of the signing of the agreement, that is, of 1871. Many delays postponed the beginning of the great project until 1880, but progress was then rapid, and the Canadian Pacific Railway was opened for traffic in 1886.

The railway has had a twofold effect. First, and most obvious, it had made possible the opening up and settlement of the vast western stretches of the Dominion. The tangible result was seen in 1905 when Saskatchewan and Alberta were formed out of the North-West Territory as separate provinces and were federated to the Dominion.

The second, and political, result of the railway was that the main communications of the Canadian provinces henceforward ran east and west. Previously each of the western settlements had had much easier communication southward with the United States of America than it had eastward with the other provinces of Canada. After 1886 this was no longer true. The Canadian Pacific Railway therefore became a powerful force not only economically but as giving reality to the Dominion idea.

Newfoundland.

The latest province in the Canadian Federation is Newfoundland. The oldest of all English Colonies—having been claimed for Queen Elizabeth I by Sir Humphrey

Gilbert in 1583—Newfoundland for centuries clung to her separate identity. In 1855 she was granted Responsible Government, and in 1867 refused to merge herself in Canada under the British North America Act of that year. By the Statute of Westminster of 1931 Newfoundland was recognized as a Dominion.

But the economic crisis of that year hit Newfoundland no less severely than the rest of the world; and by 1933 she was bankrupt, being unable to pay interest on her public loans. At the Island's request the home Government sent out a Royal Commission to investigate and make recommendations. In 1934 her constitution was suspended until her financial stability should be restored. Gradually, schemes of reconstruction brought recovery. In 1948 a referendum, to decide whether Newfoundland should resume Responsible Government or should federate with Canada, produced a small majority in favour of the second alternative. At midnight on 31st March 1949 Newfoundland joined the Dominion of Canada, thus becoming the tenth Province of the Confederation.

The story of Canada affords a perfect example of the political stages, as outlined in the first section of this chapter, through which a colony may pass. Canada was a Crown Colony from 1763, first under military rule and then, by the 1774 Quebec Act, under a civil Governor; the Canada Act of 1791 granted Representative Government; the Reunion Act of 1840 opened the way for Responsible Government; and the British North America Act of 1867 reorganized the Dominion as a Confederation.

CHAPTER XIII

AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

1. EXPLORATION AND EARLY SETTLEMENT

THOUGH Australia and New Zealand are British colonies, the first Europeans to discover them were not Britishers. The existence of a "Great Southern Land" stretching across the south of the Pacific Ocean was assumed by the makers of maps as soon as geographical speculation began towards the close of the Middle Ages. How else, they argued, could a floating sphere always be kept the right way up? Hence, at the bottom of their world-maps they marked a "Terra Australis", and when European explorers struck a large land-area in the southern seas they called it "Australia".

Spanish and Dutch.

The first of these explorers of whom we have any record was the Spaniard *Torres* who in 1606 sailed through the Strait ever since called by his name; by passing round the south of New Guinea and sighting the northern point of land farther to the south, he proved the existence of the island-continent which we know. The Spaniards made no practical use of the knowledge Torres had gained, and further exploration was left to the Dutch. In 1616, Dutch seamen touched the north-west of Australia, and during several years following that date the western coast was gradually explored, though still the land was regarded as

a northerly spur of "Terra Australis". Then in 1642 Van Dieman, the Governor of the Dutch East Indies, sent *Abel Tasman* to navigate the southern seas. Tasman sailed round Australia—thus proving it to be an island—but without even sighting its eastern shore. This strange omission is accounted for by his route: approaching from the west, he touched the island which he called Van Dieman's Land and which we know as Tasmania, but which he thought was part of the mainland; thence he struck eastward and discovered New Zealand; and then he sailed westwards to the north of New Guinea.

The reports brought back by Tasman and the other Dutchmen about Australia were so unfavourable that no steps were taken to colonize or even to seize the island. Similar reports were made by William Dampier, who sailed thither in 1689 as a pirate and, ten years later, as an officer of King William III.

Captain Cook.

The continuous history of the British in Australia began with the voyages of Captain James Cook. Cook had had a varied career in the mercantile marine before he entered the Royal Navy in 1755. In 1759 he had distinguished himself as the navigating officer of Wolfe during the latter's attacks on Quebec. Cook's importance for our present purpose was due to three voyages which he made in the southern seas. The first of them was in 1768 when he commanded a ship on which a number of scientists went to Tahiti, a Pacific island about half-way between the coast of Peru and the northernmost point of Australia. Thence in 1769 he sailed to New Zealand and charted its coastline, afterwards sailing west to Australia. He thus struck Australia on its eastern coast, and in 1770, during his explorations, landed at the great inlet which, because of its variety of vegetation, he named Botany Bay. To the superb harbour on which the town of Sydney now stands, he gave the name of Port Jackson in honour of Sir

George Jackson, then Secretary to the Admiralty. The whole coast reminded Cook so forcibly of Wales that, in proclaiming it as a British possession, he called it New South Wales.

Cook's second voyage covered the years 1772–1775. Its aim was to discover the truth about the "Great Southern Land", and he therefore explored southward into the Antarctic. In 1776 he set out on his third voyage, in the course of which he again visited New Zealand and Australia; but in 1779 he was killed in a fight with natives at Hawaii.

Convict Settlement in Australia.

Cook's third voyage had coincided in time with the War of American Independence (1775–1783), and Britain's loss of her American colonies was the indirect cause of the foundation of a new colony in Australia. Previous to the outbreak of that War, Britain had been in the habit of transporting her convicts to America. The procedure was that certain shipping contractors agreed to transport the convicts to America free of cost to the Government; the contractors repaid themselves and made a substantial profit by selling the convicts to American planters. The convicts thus became slaves in everything but name. Their lot was made worse by the Government's making no provision for bringing them back home when their sentences expired. This system was brought to an abrupt end when in 1776 the American colonies declared their independence of Britain and therefore refused any longer to receive British criminals. A fresh means of disposing of the unwanted men had to be found. During some years they were kept in Britain until the gaols became glutted with crowds of prisoners. Some solution was imperative, and in 1787 a plan was made to experiment with a penal settlement in Australia. An expedition of 750 convicts (men and women) and more than 200 officials and marines set out under the command of Captain Phillip.

In January 1788 the fleet sailed into Botany Bay, but Phillip, not satisfied with the place as a site for a permanent settlement, moved into Port Jackson where he established the first white community in Australia. He named the place Sydney, Lord Sydney being then the Secretary of State.

The origin of the present Commonwealth of Australia was thus a convict settlement. The community when once started was maintained with steady supplies of prisoners who were transported by contractors just as prisoners had previously been shipped to America.

When we speak of eighteenth-century convicts, however, we must be careful not to think exclusively of the kind of men whom we call convicts at the present day. Previous to Peel's reform of the Criminal Code [1] beginning in 1823, the penalties imposed for acts which we should consider as minor offences were extremely severe. For scores of different offences the death-penalty could be imposed, and the scale of punishments for other breaches of the law was correspondingly high. Transportation for life or for a long term of years was a common punishment, especially for infringements of the game laws, that is, for poaching. The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were a period of great distress, and many a man would obtain a meal by poaching rather than see his family starve. A large proportion of the prisoners sent to Australia were therefore not convicts in the modern sense but were often the more enterprising country-dwellers exactly suited to be agricultural workers in a new land. Unfortunately, the hardships of the journey and of the disciplinary system in Australia seemed as if designed to brutalize the prisoners and to convert even the best of them into hardened criminals.

The scheme for the settlement was that the prisoners should till the soil—a quantity of seed and agricultural implements having been included in the stores taken out

[1] Chapter II, Section 1.

from England—and that after a time they should be self-supporting in the essentials of life. Good conduct was rewarded by freedom, the men thus freed being called emancipists. Men who were released when their sentences expired were called expirees. Both classes of men received grants of land, by the cultivation of which they were to maintain themselves. At first the settlement passed through many vicissitudes: supplies from Britain failed to arrive regularly, and starvation was continually threatened; mutinies of convicts occasionally broke out and had to be guarded against by a special New South Wales Corps sent out from Britain. Nor were these the only difficulties. The New South Wales Corps itself became disorderly and despotic, and the cost of maintaining the community with the necessary supplies and of paying the attendant officers and men was so great that at the end of a dozen years the Home Government seriously considered bringing the settlement to an end. Gradually these obstacles were overcome. A more enlightened policy was adopted towards the convicts, and free settlers began to arrive in increasing numbers, especially after the demobilization of the armies at the close of the Napoleonic War.

2. DEVELOPMENT OF AUSTRALIA

Two events in particular were to prove decisive in the development of Australia: the first was the crossing of the Blue Mountains, and the second was the discovery of gold. Both these events altered profoundly the existing characteristics of the colony.

Cattle and Sheep.

For several years the only part of the country known to the white settlers was the strip of east coastland between the sea and the Blue Mountains. This strip was too limited in extent and in its resources to allow any considerable growth of the colony. But in 1813 some pioneers crossed the ridge of the mountains and saw the vast pasture-

lands—known later as the Bathurst Plains—stretching before them. The Governor had a road constructed over the mountains, and a new epoch dawned for Australia: not only was the known habitable area immensely increased, but fresh economic possibilities were at the colonists' disposal. The Plains were ideal grazing-grounds for cattle, and stock-rearing quickly became an important industry. In 1797 a few merino sheep had been transported from the Cape to Sydney, and, having been distributed among several farmers, led to a great improvement in the quality of wool produced in the colony. The opening-up of the pasturage beyond the mountains was the one thing necessary to the development of sheep-rearing which has ever since been one of the staple industries of the country. Here was another inducement to the immigration of free labourers, and the population continued to grow steadily. This resulted in the reorganization of the colony.

Development of the States.

For many years after Captain Phillip had landed with the first batch of convicts, the only part of Australia with white settlers was New South Wales, a term then used to denote not only the present State of that name but the whole of the eastern coastal strip from Cape York to the extreme south. *Tasmania*, owing to its island character, had been placed under a separate Governor as early as 1812.

The first permanent settlement of *Victoria* was made in 1834. Only three years later the site of Melbourne was decided upon, and the new town-to-be was given the name of the British Prime Minister. The wide pasture-lands encouraged a rapid expansion of population, and soon the settlers were agitating for separation from the parent colony. The agitation was due to more than petty ambition; for means of communication were then so difficult that Melbourne could be reached from Sydney only by sea. Nevertheless, not until 1851 was Victoria constituted a separate colony.

Queensland began as a penal settlement on the present site of Brisbane in 1826. Next year the Darling Downs were discovered, and graziers began to move northwards from the region of Sydney. These men were called "squatters", by which was meant sheep-rearers roaming—under Government licence—from one pasturage to another. The Government at first kept Brisbane closed to all traffic except that of convicts; but when in 1840 the transport of convicts to New South Wales ceased, Brisbane became free and began to take the place of Sydney as the port for the northern districts. But Queensland had to wait until 1859 before it became a separate State.

West Australia originated as a settlement of fifty-five persons sent from London in 1829. The settlers were allotted wide tracts of land, and other colonists soon followed the first; but the project proved to be a failure: the settlement was too far removed from the other Australian colonies to be able to exchange produce, and the large grants of land separated the colonists even from one another. Not until convicts were sent out in 1849—at the request of the colonists themselves—was sufficient labour available. The progress of West Australia dates from that time.

South Australia was founded as the result of experience gained in West Australia. It was the early failure of the latter settlement, owing to the indiscriminate granting of land in plots too large for their holders to cultivate, which provoked Gibbon Wakefield to enunciate his views on colonial settlement and to organize the Colonization Society in 1830. As we saw in our previous chapter, the essence of those views was that land should not be given to labourers but should be sold to farmers, each of whom should be allowed to hold only as much as he could cultivate, and that the money raised by the sale of land should be used to pay for the passage from Britain of suitable emigrants. This scheme was tried in South Australia. The first expedition reached St. Vincent Gulf, on which

Adelaide was later built, in 1836. For several years there was confusion because colonists swarmed out from Britain faster than land could be surveyed and allotted. At last in 1841 George Grey was appointed Governor, and his appearance transformed the situation. By a combination of justice in settling disputes and of enterprise in developing the colony, he infused new hope into the settlers. Grey's four years in South Australia laid a foundation for progress which has continued ever since.

As the colonies made progress, and as the number of free immigrants increased, there was a growing prejudice against the convict-system. Following a request from the colonists, transportation to New South Wales ceased in 1840. West Australia, as we have seen, asked for convicts after this date. South Australia, by the terms of its Constitution, never had a penal settlement. The only other state existing in 1840 was Tasmania, which continued to receive convicts until 1856. In the meantime the Home Government had thought out a new system of punishment for criminals, and in 1853 penal servitude was instituted as the usual substitute for transportation.

Exploration.

A glance at a map will show that all the Australian colonies were coastal settlements only. This was natural in the first instance, but no large-scale development was possible until the interior of the country was explored. Something had been done already by the opening up of the Bathurst and other Plains beyond the Blue Mountains and of the Darling Downs farther north. The discovery of these pastoral districts acted as an incentive to a more systematic exploration of the whole country.

In 1828 Charles Sturt began a series of explorations of the Darling, the Murrumbidgee and the Murray Rivers. It was the existence of this last river which made possible the founding of South Australia and of its capital Adelaide. Edward John Eyre started from South Australia in 1840

and tramped towards the interior as far as Lake Eyre but, unable to push on farther, turned westwards along the Great Australian Bight from South Australia to Albany in West Australia. Twenty years elapsed before any other great attempt was made to conquer the interior. In 1861, Burke and Wills and a small party set out from Melbourne towards the Gulf of Carpentaria. They finally reached the Gulf, but on the return journey they suffered so severely from lack of food that, after wandering about for months, all but one of the party died. In 1862, Stuart succeeded in crossing direct from Adelaide to the extreme north of the continent by the route which was afterwards followed by the telegraph and railway lines. All these, and several other, explorers underwent indescribable hardships in penetrating the desert-wastes of central Australia. Their success was a triumph of human endurance and perseverance.

One obstacle which they did not have to face was that of the natives. · The aborigines of Australia are among the most backward peoples in the world. They live by hunting only, and at tracking down their prey they show an almost uncanny skill. But of agriculture they know nothing. Their most characteristic weapon is the boomerang, which is a piece of curved, hard wood, flat on one side and convex on the other and which, when thrown dexterously, returns to the thrower. These aborigines suffered, as all primitive races have suffered, from the advance of civilization, and their numbers are rapidly declining. To-day there remain perhaps 120,000 of them.

Constitutional Development.

Having thus seen the foundation of the separate colonies, we may now trace their constitutional development. In the original New South Wales, government was first exercised by the officer in charge of the convicts. By 1823 the population numbered at least 30,000, and in that year full *Crown Colony Government* was set up with a Governor and a Nominated Council.

The second constitutional stage was reached in 1842 when an Act of Parliament enlarged the Council which henceforward was to consist of thirty-six members of whom twenty-four were to be elected by the colonists. This was the beginning of *Representative Government*. In 1850 the Act which separated Victoria from New South Wales (coming into effect in 1851), set up Representative Government also in Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia and West Australia.

In 1851 gold was discovered near Bathurst in New South Wales, and, only a few weeks later, in Victoria. Immediately there was the usual wild scramble of all sorts and conditions of men : clerks dropped their pens, labourers left their work, sailors deserted their ships, all in a hurry to get rich quickly. As soon as the news spread, other immigrants arrived from Britain to try their luck. A few of these became wealthy at one find ; others achieved a fortune more gradually ; many earned no more than if they had remained at home. All of them were subject to great temptations and to thieves, who were quite ready to seize what other men had won. During the five years following 1850, the population of Victoria underwent a five-fold increase. This massing of population produced new governmental problems. Nor were New South Wales and Victoria the only States affected. In the other States also valuable deposits were brought to light. The result was that the colonists petitioned the Home Government—as they were allowed to do by the terms of the 1850 Act—for extended powers of self-government, and by 1855 new constitutions, with cabinets of Ministers responsible to elected assemblies, had been set up in New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania and South Australia. This marked the third governmental stage, namely, *Responsible Government*. A similar privilege was granted to Queensland when it separated from New South Wales in 1859, and to West Australia in 1890.

Federation.

Each of the States, being now responsible for its own government, had every inducement to develop its own resources to their utmost capacity. But as time passed, the several States realized that this was impossible while they were isolated from one another. The result was a tendency towards common action. Two reasons in particular strengthened this tendency.

First, the various colonies had many interests in common. An efficient system of communication, for example, not only within each State but connecting all the States together, was vital to industry and commerce. Such an inter-State system would need to be organized by some central authority. From time to time many similar questions would certainly arise, and to create a central authority for each of them would be both expensive and inefficient. Allied with this reason was the need for money to start plans of colonial development. Within each colony were vast resources which could be exploited only if capital were available; but, because the colonies were still poor, that capital could be obtained only by raising loans from Britain. British folk, however, were not likely to lend money to a small colony like West Australia which might at any time go bankrupt. The necessary money could be borrowed much more easily, and at lower rates, if the loans could be floated by a central government which would inspire confidence abroad. These were some of the obvious reasons for a federal system of government. The argument against federation was that each State would have to relinquish some of its prized independence, and for many years the scheme remained in abeyance. A more urgent reason still would be necessary to induce the colonies to agree to federation.

This second reason was the need for organizing defence against possible attack. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, several of the great Powers, anxious to

find outlets for their rapidly expanding population, were intent upon seizing unoccupied lands wherever they were available. Australia, with its vast undeveloped areas, was jealously regarded by more than one such Power. For this reason, the Australians watched with growing uneasiness the numerous possessions of Germany in the Pacific, and the increasing power of Japan. Australia was so far distant from Britain that in time of war Germany might use her Pacific islands as a base of attack on the colony.

From 1890 onwards several inter-State conferences were held to discuss the question of federation and, if possible, to draw up a definite scheme. A conference in 1899 was able to agree upon a scheme which was endorsed by a referendum of the colonists and was incorporated in an Act of the British Parliament in 1900. The Commonwealth of Australia came into existence on 1st January 1901.

In principle, the federal Constitution resembles that of Canada, though in several details the two differ. There are a Governor-General, a Senate to which the people of each State elect six members, and a House of Representatives chosen also by the people but in proportion to the population of each State. Each of the States has also its own Parliament with authority to deal with all matters not specially reserved for the Federal Parliament's decision: the matters so reserved include defence, currency, railways, posts and telegraphs. One difficulty was to find a suitable capital city for the new Commonwealth. Each of the colonies was jealous of any of the existing State capitals'—except its own—being chosen as the capital. The Conference had therefore agreed that none of the existing capitals should be chosen, but that a new site should be found not less than 100 miles from Sydney. The site finally chosen was at Canberra, where the new Parliament buildings were opened in 1927.

3. NEW ZEALAND

The Maoris.

Twelve hundred miles to the south-east of Australia lies New Zealand, and thither, early in the nineteenth century, went a motley assortment of sailors, traders, and convicts, escaped from Australia. To these men the absence of any European government made New Zealand especially attractive. Their aim was to take advantage of the natives' ignorance of the value of European commodities in order, by a process of barter, to obtain concessions of land. At first, the offer of a few beads or a gun would secure a considerable stretch of land; but the natives, who had not really understood the meaning of the transaction, were furious at finding themselves duped, and they took vengeance upon the traders. The inevitable result was disorder and often bloodshed. This state of affairs led the British Government in 1817 to authorize the Governor of New South Wales to exercise a sort of police control over the white settlers in New Zealand.

Events proved that the natives of New Zealand were very different from those of Australia. They called themselves "Maoris", which in their language means "native". They were physically well-developed, had some knowledge of agriculture (which always implies a settled mode of life and the rudiments of civilization), and had developed a characteristic type of art expressed in carving and tattooing. They were warlike and were skilled in the use of several formidable weapons. These characteristics, combined with keen intelligence, made the Maoris dangerous people to deal with when they found that they had been deceived by the white men; and their vengeance was not always directed against the particular offenders. The presence of natives of this type made the British dealings with New Zealand much more difficult and complicated than those with Australia.

Treaty of Waitangi, 1840.

The first steps towards the systematic colonization of the country were taken by Gibbon Wakefield. In 1838 he formed the New Zealand Company to do in New Zealand what he had already done in South Australia, and in 1839 the Company sent out 1,200 colonists. This action compelled the Government to take action, and in that year New Zealand was formally annexed by a representative of the Governor of New South Wales.

Negotiation with the Maoris was the next necessity. Here the chief difficulty was the native method of land-owning: no native owned land in his own right, the land occupied by a tribe being regarded as belonging to the tribe as a whole—a fact of which the early traders in New Zealand were ignorant. This system produced two causes of friction. On the one hand, the natives resented the attempts to seize lands from individuals; on the other, the scheme which Wakefield had worked successfully in South Australia—namely of selling land and using the proceeds to bring out poor immigrants—could not be put into operation if Maori tribes refused to sell. To straighten out these misunderstandings and disputes the Government intervened.

The result was the Treaty of Waitangi whereby the Maoris recognized British sovereignty over New Zealand. In return, Britain recognized the native rights of ownership of lands and agreed that transfers of land should be made not by an individual native (or even by a chief) to an individual white settler or company, but only by a tribe through the British Governor. This Treaty formed the foundation of British power in New Zealand. Its terms gave to the Maoris a sense of security on their lands and of confidence in the British Government. So long as British settlers respected the Treaty there was peace, and the trouble which afterwards arose with the natives was due to renewed attempts to seize lands in defiance of the terms of the Treaty.

Sir George Grey, 1845-1853.

The chief responsibility for land encroachments rested with Wakefield's New Zealand Company, which was powerful enough to influence the Government's representatives. The Company's agents acquired considerable stretches of land under agreements with individual chiefs, and serious hostility was aroused among the natives of both islands. Still the Company persisted in its policy, and in 1844 an affray between settlers and natives resulted in the deaths of several of the former. The Maoris were on the verge of war; and, had war broken out, the 5,000 white settlers would have been in danger of extermination by the 100,000 warlike Maoris.

In the nick of time, in 1845, Grey arrived from South Australia to become Governor. Grey upheld the Treaty of Waitangi. He punished firmly both British land-grabbers and native rebels, and, to give the Maoris confidence in British justice, he allowed them to organize a body of native police. Soon the Maoris learned to trust Grey implicitly. The peaceful condition of the country encouraged immigration on a large scale, and before the end of Grey's period the white settlers in New Zealand numbered at least 25,000. Unfortunately, this increase was accompanied by a decrease in the numbers of Maoris who, like all native races, became an easy prey to the diseases of the white man.

In 1853, at Grey's suggestion, a new Constitution came into force in New Zealand, having been passed by an Act of the previous year. There were to be a Governor, an Upper House nominated by the Governor, and a House of Representatives elected by the people. A novel feature of the Constitution was that the elected House was to contain four Maoris chosen by natives, who were divided into four constituencies for the purpose. According to the Act of 1852 the Ministry was to consist of the Governor and his officials. New Zealand thus acquired *Representative Govern-*

ment. But the New Zealand Parliament claimed larger powers, and in 1856 the colony received full *Responsible Government*, the Ministry being henceforward responsible to the elected House.

Maori Wars, 1860-1871.

In 1854 Grey left New Zealand to become Governor of Cape Colony. During the years that followed, friction was renewed between the British and the Maoris. This was due in part to further attempts at land encroachments by the British and in part to resentment by some of the older Maoris at the loss of their independence. In 1860 the ill-will led to open fighting, and next year Grey was brought back as Governor for a second time. Hitherto, the policy of the Home Government had been to retain in its own hands the final decision in all questions affecting natives. In 1862 Grey secured the transference of the control of native affairs to the New Zealand Government. This did not work out as Grey had anticipated. He was now in a different position from the one he had occupied during his previous Governorship, because the granting of Responsible Government in 1856 had made the Representative House and not the Governor supreme. That House represented almost exclusively the views of the white settlers and was therefore less impartial in its dealings with native questions than either the Home Government or the Governor would have been. The New Zealand Parliament decided to repress the natives by force, and it carried out a large-scale campaign for that purpose, though not until 1871 were the colonists finally successful. Since that date there has been unbroken peace.

In 1900 there seemed some possibility that New Zealand would join the Commonwealth of Australia, but she decided to remain independent. In 1907 New Zealand was granted the title of " Dominion " and her Governor was given the rank of Governor-General. She thus takes her place with the other self-governing Dominions of the British Empire.

CHAPTER XIV

SOUTH AFRICA

1. EARLY HISTORY

THE various peoples already inhabiting South Africa when the country first became British have made its history more complicated than that of any of the other self-governing Dominions. In Australia the only inhabitants whom the British found were the aborigines who were so nearly a negligible factor as to leave a clear field for colonization. In New Zealand the presence of warlike natives made the British position more difficult. In Canada the British had to rule the French settlers. But in South Africa the British found both natives and whites. Hence arose a three-cornered relationship which throughout the nineteenth century was the cause of constant friction and of frequent strife.

The Cape becomes British.

The first white settlers at the Cape were the Dutch who in 1652 established a station there as a port-of-call for their vessels plying between Holland and the East Indies. For a number of years the Dutch regarded this station as a place where ships could be re-provisioned and re-fitted and not as a colony in the wider sense. The first colonizing settlement at the Cape was made by French Huguenot refugees: the persecution which followed Louis XIV's Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 caused thou-

sands of Huguenots to flee to Holland where the Dutch welcomed them, several hundreds of them being settled at the Cape. In the course of time they intermarried with the Dutch settlers and so lost their separate identity, but their industrious and independent character had a marked influence upon their descendants. Gradually the number of settlers at the Cape increased until there were perhaps 15,000 Dutch, with the Huguenot admixture. They lived mainly as farmers—hence their name of "Boers" which is the Dutch word for "farmers"—scattered over a wide area. In temperament, the Boers were extremely independent. Each Boer farmer was almost a law to himself; among his family his word was unquestioned, and the natives whom he had enslaved and who laboured on the farm were completely at his disposal. Though the Boers were religiously minded, their religion was that of the Old Testament. They regarded themselves as the modern counterparts of the Israelites, living among heathen who had no rights and who were in the land to be the hewers-of-wood and the drawers-of-water for God's chosen people.

Political events in Europe had their reactions upon the Cape. In 1795 the French Revolutionary armies overran Holland and set up the Batavian Republic. To prevent the Cape, as a former Dutch possession, from falling into the hands of the French, who would thereby be able to intercept the British communications with India, the British seized Cape Town. When the Treaty of Amiens was signed in 1802, the Cape was restored to the Dutch. But war was renewed next year, and by October 1805 the Battle of Trafalgar left Britain the undisputed mistress of the sea. She therefore used her navy to attack the possessions of France and of the States dependent upon France. In 1806 a British fleet occupied the Cape and a British garrison took over the fortifications. At the close of the Napoleonic War in 1814, an agreement was made whereby Britain retained the Cape permanently and paid to the Dutch Government £6,000,000 as compensation. At first,

the British regarded their new station only as a half-way house to India, but the distress after 1815 caused a certain amount of emigration to the Cape, as to the other oversea possessions. In 1820, for example, 5,000 people were sent out by the Government to settle in the east of the Colony around Algoa Bay where Port Elizabeth now stands. In addition to the Boer farmers and the British settlers, within the territory of Cape Colony there was a large number of natives, usually computed at 2,000,000.

Native Races.

The most urgent problem which would face the British concerned their relationship with the natives outside the Cape. Of these there were three main sections, namely, Bushmen, Hottentots, and various branches of the Bantus.

The *Bushmen* are the aboriginal inhabitants of South Africa. They are small in stature (being closely allied to the pygmies); live by hunting only, being ignorant of agriculture or cattle-rearing; lack any kind of permanent tribal organization; and are unaffected by white civilization. Formerly the only inhabitants of South Africa, the Bushmen have been driven by more virile races towards the west, and now occupy a barren stretch of country from the borders of Cape Colony northwards through the Kalahari Desert.

The *Hottentots* are only slightly superior in physique and in social organization to the Bushmen; indeed, racially the Hottentots are probably the descendants of an invading race who mixed with the Bushmen. They are a pastoral people, keeping large herds of cattle and sheep, and they have some knowledge of working iron for weapons. They inhabit the south-west coastal area extending from Cape Colony northwards, and were the first native race with whom the British came into contact.

The most important native race in the southern part of Africa is that of the *Bantus*. With the exception of certain patches—such as those covered by the Bushmen and the

Hottentots—the Bantus cover the whole of Africa south of an irregular line drawn a little east of the mouth of the Niger to the northern boundary of Kenya Colony. They include several vigorous, warlike tribes among whom are the Kaffirs, who occupy land stretching from Delagoa Bay southwards and westwards across the Cape of Good Hope; the Zulus of Natal, the Basutos adjoining Natal, the Matabele of Southern Rhodesia, the Bechuanas, and several others. This brief description of the South African races and their geographical boundaries is necessarily couched in general terms, but it will serve as a guide in the story that follows.

Great Trek, 1836–1840.

At first, the transference of government from Dutch to British in 1815 made little practical difference at the Cape, and the Boers settled down more or less contentedly under their new masters. Within a few years, however, several matters arose to cause friction between Boers and British. Three of these matters call for notice.

First, in 1828, changes were made in the Cape Constitution: local government, which hitherto had been in the hands of the Boers, was transferred to resident British magistrates; English was to be the only official language in law-courts and schools throughout the Colony; and the Hottentots were given citizen-rights on an equality with British and Boers. The effects were to make the Boer inferior to the British in certain respects, and to put the native on an equality with him at law, both of which effects were galling to his pride.

Second, and more serious, in 1833 slavery was abolished throughout the British dominions. The Boers owned nearly 40,000 slaves valued at about £2,500,000. Of the £20,000,000 voted by Parliament as compensation to all the slave-owners, only £1,250,000 was allotted to South Africa, so that each Boer received not more than one half the market value of his slaves. This in itself was regarded

as a grievance; but what the Boers most objected to was the principle of abolition. In their view, the coloured people were divinely appointed as the slaves of the whites, so that even if the compensation had been adequate, the abolition of slavery would still have occasioned Boer resentment.

The third cause of friction also arose out of the home Government's policy on a native question. The extension of the British settlement eastwards from Port Elizabeth had meant encroachment upon Kaffir territory, and during several years constant disputes had resulted. At last, in 1834, the Kaffirs had swarmed over the border murdering British and Boers and pillaging their property. Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the Governor at the Cape, took prompt action. Gathering forces, he invaded Kaffir territory, met and routed the Kaffirs early in 1835, and made with them a treaty whereby a belt of Kaffirland was to become British, though the natives therein were not to be disturbed. D'Urban's settlement, which had the warm support of both British and Boers at the Cape, would enable the British to control a kind of no-man's-land between themselves and the natives, and so would prevent a repetition of the Kaffir invasion. The Home Government, however, took a different view: further colonial extension was unpopular at the moment, the Treaty was rejected at the Colonial Office, and the boundary remained where it had been before the Kaffir War.

Among the Boers, already discontented through the imposition of the English language and the abolition of slavery, this reversal of a policy approved by men on the spot provoked a final disgust. The greater part of them determined to break all connection with such a Government. Disposing of their lands as far as they were able, they gathered together their movable possessions, piled them upon wagons to which they yoked long teams of oxen, and "trekked" slowly away from British soil. This process began in 1836 and went on during several years.

Some of the trekking Boers settled on the far side of the Orange River, and so formed the Orange Free State; others, more bitter, and determined not even to touch a British boundary, went still farther across the Vaal River where they set up a loose sort of republic called the Transvaal; while a third stream went north-east into Natal.

2. BRITAIN AND THE BOER REPUBLICS

Position after 1836.

The Great Trek and the consequent founding of the Boer States created a new situation in South Africa. Not only was the Cape depopulated of some 10,000 of its settlers, but the Cape Government had now to deal with independent white neighbours. At first sight, a belt of Boer territory on the north and east of the Cape might seem useful as putting a buffer between the latter and the hostile natives. Actually, the reverse proved to be the case. Though the Boers were individually brave and able to defend themselves against small attacks, they held so stubbornly to their freedom that they would not set up an effective central government lest they should have to pay taxes and should lose some of their independence. A large-scale onslaught of natives would therefore find the scattered Boer farmers helpless; the natives would then be able to gather in Boer territory and thence to swarm into the Cape. Formerly if a native attack had been threatened, the British could have gone across the Orange River to defeat the tribe on its own ground, but to do so now would be to invade a friendly white State. Thus the Boer Republics were likely to prove not so much buffers against the natives as hindrances to effective defence. As a result, several times during the nineteenth century the British felt themselves compelled to invade, or even to annex, Boer territory, not because they wished to extend British possessions permanently, but merely in order to protect themselves and the Boers against external attack.

Such circumstances led inevitably to constant and bitter disputes between the British and their Boer neighbours.

Natal, 1838–1843.

The first example occurred in Natal. Thither had trekked a considerable body of Boers under Piet Retief. Natal was the home of Zulus under a warlike chief Dingaan. The latter pretended to be friendly towards the new-comers: in February 1838 he invited Retief and other leaders to a conference and a native celebration in their honour, but suddenly and treacherously he set his men upon them and slew them. This was followed by attacks against the Boer settlers, who were in extreme peril. Help came from outside Boers, and on 16th December 1838—a day still called "Dingaan's Day" and observed as an annual holiday in South Africa—an attack was made against the Zulus, who were routed and driven out of Natal. The Boers then set up in Natal, as they had done in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, a loose kind of republican government. Their repulsion of the Zulus could, however, be only temporary, and fresh trouble was soon brewing. In 1842 the British Government, foreseeing the danger, sent a force to occupy Natal, and in 1843 Natal was declared to be a Crown Colony with a Lieutenant-Governor subordinate to the Governor of the Cape. The Boers had borne the brunt of the pioneer work and they resented the annexation by the British, who would reap the benefit of Boer initiative. The Boers therefore trekked out of Natal into the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, and so once more left the British in control of a depopulated country.

Sand River Convention, 1852.

In 1848 Sir Harry Smith arrived at the Cape as Governor. He was a vigorous man whose views about the relations of the British to the Boers and the natives were very similar to those of D'Urban. He therefore began a for-

ward policy in order to safeguard the Cape against possible attacks. A strip of Kaffir territory was annexed, and the Boer State between the Orange and the Vaal Rivers was declared to be British with the title of the Orange River Sovereignty. Some of the Boers resisted this annexation of their territory, but the majority of them were willing to submit to British overlordship so as to secure British protection.

The British soon discovered that they had underestimated the cost of their policy of annexation. To maintain an adequate defence of so large an area proved to be extremely expensive, and in 1852 the Home Government suddenly reversed its previous decision. By the Sand River Convention of that year, the British for the first time formally acknowledged the independence of the Transvaal Republic. This was followed in 1854 by the Bloemfontein Convention, whereby the British renounced their sovereignty over the Orange River territory which once more became the Orange Free State. This step was taken in spite of the most earnest protests of the Orange River Boers, most of whom were content to be British subjects. It is not easy to say whether they were more exasperated by the original annexation or by its repudiation. Certainly the vacillating policy of the British Government alienated the Boers and made them suspicious in all their future dealings with the Cape.

Constitutional Progress.

The immediate effect of the Conventions was that once again Cape Colony and Natal were the only territories in South Africa under British rule. In 1853 the Cape advanced constitutionally from Crown Colony to *Representative Government*: two elected chambers were set up, votes were given to natives on the same terms as to white settlers, but the Ministers were not responsible to the elected Assemblies. In 1856 a similar Constitution was granted to Natal except that the natives—who out-

numbered the whites by about fifteen to one—were not enfranchised.

In 1854 *Sir George Grey* had been transferred from New Zealand to be Governor of the Cape. His foresight and wisely directed energy were as evident there as in his previous spheres of office. Grey was impressed by the unsatisfactory relationship of the South African States to one another, and in 1858 he submitted to the Home Government a scheme for organizing the two British and the two Boer States into a Federation under the British Crown. The Orange Free State had already agreed to the principle of federation, and the Transvaal Boers were in such constant danger from native attacks that a little patience would almost certainly have secured their consent also. The British Government, however, was still unwilling to make itself responsible for the Boer States, and the only reply it vouchsafed to Grey was to reprimand him for exceeding his duties and to recall him in disgrace in 1859. Later he returned to the Cape as Governor until, in 1861, he went to New Zealand for a second term. No more calamitous decision was ever made for South Africa. Grey's scheme would have begun to bind Boer and Briton together with common interests and common loyalties, and would have prevented the bitterness and bloodshed of the succeeding half-century. In short, federation in 1859 would have achieved in principle the Union of 1909 without the intervening wars.

Full *Responsible Government* was granted to Cape Colony in 1872, and to Natal in 1893.

First Boer War, 1880–1881.

Meanwhile, the Boers were left to their own devices, and very soon their dislike of a strong Government placed them in serious danger from the natives. The Boers' only idea of treating the Zulus in their neighbourhood was to oppress and raid and often slaughter them so that the Zulus were being lashed into fury. When the day came that they

attacked in force, the Boers would be completely at their mercy. Moreover, when the natives had overwhelmed the Boers and were flushed with victory, they would almost certainly sweep over the Orange River into the Cape. This danger grew so acute that in 1877 the British annexed the Transvaal.

This, however, did not bring peace with the natives. In January 1879 the Zulus, under their chief Cetewayo, broke into war. The British had under-estimated the strength of their foes, and at Isandhlwana in Natal a combined British and native force of 1,300 men was annihilated. The arrival of reinforcements enabled the British gradually to assume the offensive and to beat the Zulus at Ulundi. Cetewayo was taken prisoner, Zululand was declared a British Protectorate, and in 1887 was definitely annexed by Britain.

The solution of one problem merely provoked another. Britain had annexed the Transvaal because of the danger from the Zulus, but as soon as that danger was over in 1879, the Boers claimed the restoration of their independence. Politically, the moment was a difficult one: the Disraeli Government was drawing to a close and was reluctant to make a decision about the Boers' claim; Gladstone became Prime Minister in April 1880, and he too postponed a settlement. At last, in December 1880, the Boers, tired of delay, declared the independence of the Transvaal and attacked the British troops stationed in the country. These troops were too few to hold their own and were subject to severe losses. The crowning disaster came in February 1881 at *Majuba Hill* where the British troops were surrounded and annihilated, among the slain being Colley, the British commander. In March, by the Convention of Pretoria, the British Government recognized the independence of the Transvaal, hoping thus to wash its hands of further trouble, though the Republic was to remain under the "Queen's Sovereignty"—a term left undefined. Circumstances conspired against them: the discovery of gold in the Transvaal

in 1884 altered the whole situation and led to a new series of disputes in which the leading figure was Cecil Rhodes.

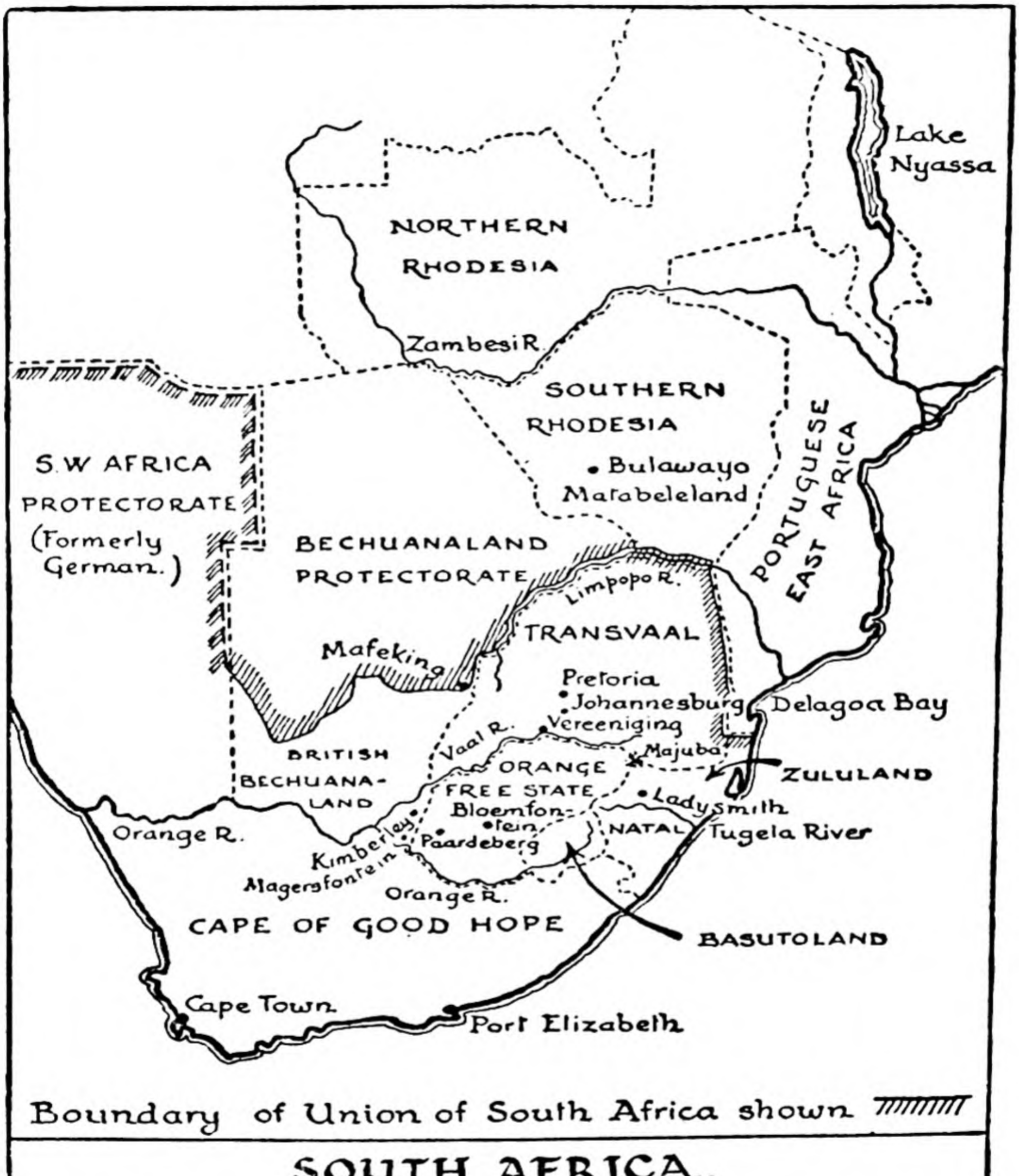
3. SECOND BOER WAR, 1899–1902

Cecil Rhodes, 1853–1902.

Cecil Rhodes was the son of the Vicar of Bishops Stortford in Hertfordshire. A breakdown in health in 1870 while he was an undergraduate at Oxford led to his joining his brother Herbert, who was a cotton-planter in Natal. In 1870 diamonds had been found in Griqualand West, between the Orange and the Vaal Rivers west of the Orange Free State. To exploit the finds, companies were formed, the most successful being the De Beers Company which operated in the district immediately around Kimberley. The two brothers Rhodes caught the diamond-fever and went to try their fortune. They both did well, and the rough open-air life of the diggings caused such an improvement in the health of Cecil that within three years he had sufficiently recovered to return to Oxford, but a further breakdown sent him back to Kimberley. He never lost his love for classical learning, however ; from time to time he kept terms at Oxford, and finally took his degree in 1881, by which time he was wealthy and a member of the Parliament at Cape Town.

Rhodes was inspired with a great political ambition for himself and for the British Empire. He believed that the British people were the highest product of mankind and that they had, in consequence, a mission to extend their influence as widely as possible over the world. In Africa he was intent upon extending the Empire and upon the construction of a Cape-to-Cairo Railway through British territory. In order to accomplish these ends, he devoted himself to the accumulation of wealth. His early career is the romantic story of power gained by rapid strides until he was President of the De Beers Consolidated Diamond Mines and Prime Minister of the Cape Colony Parliament.

He was also fabulously wealthy, with a reputed income of a million pounds yearly. At first he was quite disin-



SOUTH AFRICA.

terested in gaining this wealth, but wealth brought with it its own temptations: it became to Rhodes a god in the worship of which he stooped to do unscrupulous acts, both

towards individuals and towards native peoples, such as he would not have done when a young man. These things were grievous blemishes upon the character of one who devoted himself unreservedly to what he regarded as the service of his country of whose Empire he was one of the great builders.

The map shows that the key to Rhodes' Cape-to-Cairo Railway dream was Bechuanaland which, previous to the first Boer War, had not been appropriated by any European Power. West of it, the coast belonged to the Germans, and if they expanded into the interior they would block the British way to the north. Above all, if the Germans allied with the Transvaal Boers, the doom of a British South Africa might well be sealed. After the first Boer War, bands of Boers began to cross the Transvaal frontier westwards and settle in Bechuanaland. This compelled the British Government to adopt some definite policy. In 1884 Bechuanaland was declared a British Protectorate, and next year Southern Bechuanaland was made a Crown Colony. Thus the way for the fulfilment of Rhodes' scheme was kept open.

Rhodes then brought all his influence to bear, in prolonged and urgent negotiations, to induce the British Government to press forward before too late. The result was the grant, in 1889, of a royal charter to the British South Africa Company, which Rhodes had formed, for the development and administration of Africa north and west of the Transvaal. In 1890, pioneering in the new country began. In that year also Rhodes became Prime Minister of the Cape. He was therefore unable personally to superintend the working of his own scheme, and Dr. Starr Jameson, a close friend of Rhodes, was made Administrator of the Company's lands. Settlers were established, agriculture and mining were developed, and, not least important, railways were laid down. The Company's lands were given the name of *Rhodesia* which thus became a permanent memorial to the man who had inspired its foundation.

Uitlanders.

The Transvaal Boers, after securing their independence in 1881, wished for nothing better than to live their own isolated lives in their own way. The President of the Republic was Paul Kruger who, as a lad of ten, had trekked behind his father's ox-wagon away from his old home in Cape Colony. That trek had burned itself bitterly into his memory, and the ruling passion of his life was to avenge his people. Two events soon happened to cause him serious disquiet.

The first was the discovery of gold in the Transvaal in 1884. The Boers remained almost unmoved by the possibilities of wealth within their borders. They were farmers and had neither the knowledge nor the desire to develop the gold-workings. Consequently the fortune-seekers who rushed into the Transvaal had everything their own way. Though these new-comers were the means of increasing enormously the wealth of the country, they were hated by the Boers who called them "Uitlanders", that is, "outsiders", and outsiders they remained. No Uitlander was allowed to exercise political rights; his only political privilege was to pay taxes, and the taxes imposed upon him were so heavy that he contributed about nine-tenths of the total revenue of the State. The Boer attitude was easy to understand: within a few years the Uitlanders were the more numerous section of the population, and if they were allowed a voice in the government, the Boers would be outvoted in the management of their own country. When the Uitlanders complained of the heavy taxation, they were merely informed that if they were dissatisfied they need not remain. Clearly, matters could not continue indefinitely in this condition. Sooner or later a climax would be reached, and the struggle would be brought to a definite issue.

Second, the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland placed the Boers at a great disadvantage in their rivalry with the

British, for the Transvaal and the Orange Free State now had British territory on three sides of them. This disadvantage was the greater because, since the Boers had originally gone up-country from the Cape, their communications with the outside world were through Cape Colony ports. In order to make himself independent in this respect, Kruger supported the building of the railway from Pretoria to Delagoa Bay which was in Portuguese East Africa. The menace to the Transvaal from Bechuanaland and Rhodesia made Kruger more rigid than ever in his opposition to the Uitlanders' claims for political rights.

Jameson Raid, 1895.

In 1892 the Uitlanders formed a Union to agitate for concessions. During two or three years the Union tried to bring peaceful pressure to bear upon the Boer Government but without any result. By 1895 the Uitlanders were losing patience and were becoming convinced that armed force was the only argument that would impress the Boers. Secretly, therefore, they began to gather arms and to plan a rising. The day fixed for the revolt was 30th December, and on the same day Dr. Jameson was to lead a force over the frontier. The centre, if not the originator of this plot, was Cecil Rhodes: the overthrow of Kruger was essential to Rhodes, since the Transvaal stood in the way of his scheme for British supremacy in South Africa and he had a large personal interest in the Transvaal gold-mines. Though Rhodes gave his support as a private citizen, and not as Prime Minister of the Cape, this nice distinction would not carry much weight in the minds of the Boers.

Shortly before the appointed day, a hitch occurred in the Uitlanders' preparations, and Rhodes warned Jameson to postpone his raid. Jameson, apparently judging that if he once crossed the frontier the Uitlanders would rise in his support, adhered to the original plan. He led some 600 horsemen into the Transvaal, but they were surrounded

by Boers and made prisoners. The raid in any case was a mad-cap scheme. For a Government even to allow an armed expedition into friendly territory is serious enough, but for such an expedition to have the support of the head of the Government would place the latter clearly in the wrong. Even had the raid been successful, Britain would have been wrong in the eyes of the world, and the final outcome is difficult to estimate. When the raid turned out to be a fiasco, Kruger, both morally and politically, was in a stronger position than ever. Rhodes was compelled to resign his Premiership, and the British Colonial Office—Joseph Chamberlain being then Colonial Secretary—was handicapped in supporting the claims of colonists who had placed themselves in such a completely false position. Jameson was made the scapegoat: he was handed over by Kruger to the British authorities, and the latter sentenced him to eighteen months' imprisonment; but Rhodes, though censured, suffered no actual punishment.

Sir Alfred Milner was sent out as High Commissioner to negotiate with Kruger on the subject of the Uitlanders' rights. For three years the negotiations continued, but finally Milner became convinced that Kruger would make no concessions that were of any value. The truth was that Kruger was meanwhile assiduously preparing for war. Secret stores of arms and ammunition were being piled up; European officers were being paid to drill Boer troops; and the Kaiser's telegram, congratulating Kruger when the raid failed, encouraged the Boers to believe that, if war broke out, they would receive European help. By the end of August 1899 negotiations broke down. British troops were moved towards the northern frontier of the Cape, and reinforcements were shipped from Britain. These moves were the subject of further recriminations, and in October the Boers declared war. The Orange Free State immediately made common cause with the Transvaal and thus greatly widened the sphere of operations.

Events of the War.

The events of the war divide themselves into three phases.

First Phase: October–December, 1899. Very few people in Britain took the war seriously. The easy victories which had been won during recent years over native tribes in various parts of the world had blinded the eyes of the British military authorities and of the British people to the army's unpreparedness for war under modern conditions. Both army and people had some nasty shocks awaiting them. The training which the Boers had received under European officers showed itself from the outset. The Boers took the offensive, invaded Natal and Cape Colony, and besieged Ladysmith and Kimberley, as well as Mafeking in Bechuanaland. The British commander, General Redvers Buller, organized his relief forces in three columns. He himself led the first towards Ladysmith; Lord Methuen led a drive towards Kimberley; and General Gatacre was detailed to suppress the beginnings of a rising of Boers in Cape Colony. Within one week—the "Black Week"—in December 1899 all three of the columns suffered disastrous defeats: Methuen at Magersfontein, Gatacre at Stormberg, and Buller at Colenso on the Tugela River. These disasters sobered the British people. The facts were clear: the Boers had reserves of arms on which to draw; they were familiar with every yard of the ground over which the fighting was taking place; they were accustomed to fire-arms and to a rough, open-air life not very different from that which they were called upon to live as soldiers; and they were employing barbed-wire entanglements and other devices of whose use the British army appeared to be ignorant until it found itself ensnared by them and helpless.

Second Phase: January–September, 1900. As soon as the seriousness of the war was realized, large reinforcements were organized. Volunteers were called for in Britain: the

Colonies and India sent substantial contingents ; and Lord Roberts, who had won a great reputation in Afghanistan,[1] and Lord Kitchener, who had just defeated the Sudanese at Omdurman,[2] were sent out to take over the command. The new leaders, having a force of a quarter of a million at their disposal—against the Boers' 30,000—were able to adopt more comprehensive methods of campaign. Buller was left to keep the enemy occupied on the Tugela River while Roberts directed the main body of his troops towards the west. Instead of making direct frontal attacks, such as had been disastrous early in the war, Roberts planned outflanking and enveloping movements. Sir John French was sent with a cavalry division to surround Kimberley, which was relieved on 15th February. Meanwhile Roberts and Kitchener were leading the main army which was to march through the Orange Free State into the Transvaal. The Boer General Cronje at Magersfontein, seeing his communications endangered, moved towards Bloemfontein ; but at Paardeberg he was cut off by Roberts and forced to capitulate (27th February). The British then occupied Bloemfontein and annexed the Orange Free State and renamed it the " Orange River Sovereignty ". On the day following Cronje's surrender at Paardeberg, Buller had relieved Ladysmith. After resting his troops at Bloemfontein, Roberts marched into the Transvaal. Among his objectives was Mafeking where, since the outbreak of war, Colonel Baden-Powell and a small garrison had been doggedly resisting Boer attacks. Colonel Mahon was secretly despatched thither, and the town was relieved on 17th May : strategically the position was of no great consequence, but the gallantry of the defenders had made them such popular heroes in Britain that their relief was hailed by an outburst of riotous excitement which gave rise to the verb " to maffick ". On 5th June Roberts entered Pretoria, and the Transvaal was annexed.

[1] Chapter XI, Section 4. [2] Chapter XVIII, Section 3.

A comprehensive campaign had thus succeeded in relieving all the besieged British garrisons, in placing both of the Boer capitals in British hands, and in the annexation of the two Boer Republics. Roberts believed that the war was over, and, acting on this belief, he returned home in September, leaving Kitchener to clear up the remnants of opposition. In October, President Kruger had escaped to the coast through Portuguese territory, and was taken in a Dutch ship to Holland. He died in Switzerland in 1904, and was buried at Pretoria.

Third Phase: September 1900–*May* 1902. According to all the rules of warfare Roberts was right. But the Boers, caring nothing for rules of warfare, were stubbornly determined not to acknowledge defeat while any possibility of resistance remained to them. The war therefore entered upon a third phase. The Boer forces had been so thoroughly broken that regular campaigns were out of the question. Instead, the Boers resorted to guerilla warfare: numerous commandos, more or less independent of one another and led by such generals as De Wet, Botha, Smuts and Hertzog, roamed over the country, taking advantage of the natural features of the land in order to annoy and wear down their enemy. To counteract these tactics, Kitchener began to erect miles of barbed-wire entanglements, strengthened at intervals by blockhouses. As he covered the country, he gathered the women and children into concentration camps, and then systematically laid waste houses, crops and whatever could give shelter or sustenance to the enemy. By such means the Boers were gradually rounded up until, by the spring of 1902, they could resist no longer.

Peace of Vereeniging, 1902.

Peace was signed at Vereeniging on 31st May 1902. By its terms, the two Boer Republics were annexed to Great Britain, but they were to receive self-government as soon as possible; the Dutch language was to be retained; and

Britain promised a grant of £3,000,000 to repair the ravages of the war and to resettle the Boers upon their farms.

Cecil Rhodes had died two months before the Peace. The sight of a united South Africa within the British Empire, for which he had dreamed and worked, was thus denied to him, but he died in the faith of its fulfilment: in his will he left a beautiful residence for the Prime Minister of the South Africa which he believed was yet to be. The love which he had always retained for learning was shown by another clause of his will: a huge sum of money was set aside to provide scholarships for one hundred and seventy-five young men of the British Dominions, the United States of America, and Germany to study at his own University of Oxford.

4. BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA, 1902–1920

Responsible Government, 1907.

Lord Milner, as High Commissioner, was responsible for the resettlement of the country, a task full of difficult problems. The land had been laid waste, the mines had been stopped, and the immediate need was to find sufficient labour to re-start the industrial machine. Milner gave his consent for the importation of "indentured" Chinese coolies to work the mines. This aroused bitter opposition in Britain, particularly among the Liberals, who used the cry of "Chinese Slavery" with great effect in the Election of 1905 when, under Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Liberal Party was returned to office with a great majority.

Campbell-Bannerman was no sooner in power than he began to fulfil the pledges of self-government which had been made to the Boers. In 1907 *Responsible Government* was granted both to the Transvaal and to the Orange River Colony. The ensuing Elections returned Dutch majorities in both States, but their Governments loyally carried out the implications of the freedom which had been granted to them.

Act of Union, 1909.

After 1907, therefore, there were four self-governing States in South Africa, in addition to several other British dependencies such as the two Rhodesias, Basutoland and Bechuanaland. This method of divided government was inefficient and could not be more than a temporary expedient. The four self-governing States had many common interests, among them being the need for agreed policies on railway development, native questions, customs duties, and defence. The defence problem was particularly urgent owing to the presence of Germans in South-West Africa, and its urgency grew as the animosity between Germany and Britain became more acute in the years following 1907. As early as 1908 Conferences to discuss plans of closer co-operation began to be held between representatives of the four States. The examples of Canada and of Australia made the delegates think first of a federal system. But the differences in point of view still existing between Briton and Boer seemed to make such a system somewhat risky : if on some vital question —for example, the treatment of natives—the States held conflicting opinions, the existence of the federation might be seriously endangered. The federal idea was therefore abandoned, and a scheme of union was adopted in its place.

The Cape of Good Hope, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State (which thus recovered its former title) were joined into the Union of South Africa. The four Parliaments ceased to exist, and one Parliament, consisting of a Senate and a House of Representatives, was erected for the Union. The British Crown was to be represented by a Governor-General, and the Cabinet of Ministers was to be responsible to the Parliament. Each of the four States had its own Provincial Council with limited powers for purely local affairs. These terms were incorporated in the Act of Union of 1909 which came into force in 1910. The first Governor-General was Lord Gladstone, son of

the great Victorian statesman, and the first Union Prime Minister was General Botha, who had been one of the foremost Boer leaders in the war ending only eight years previously. Thus were vindicated the vision of Cecil Rhodes and the faith of Campbell-Bannerman.

The Union was getting well into its stride when the Great War broke out in 1914. German South-West Africa then played exactly the part which had been foreseen. In order to embarrass Great Britain, and possibly to win the British South African dominions, the Germans stirred up a rebellion among some of the discontented Boers. The leader of the revolt was the elusive De Wet. But the loyalty of the great majority of the Boers was strong enough to stand the strain: the loyal forces composed of both Boers and British and led by General Botha, crushed the revolt without any help from Britain and went on to help in the conquest of German South-West Africa itself. After the War, the League of Nations turned South-West Africa into "mandated territory" [1] and entrusted the Union of South Africa with its administration.

5. THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

This chapter and the three previous ones have been concerned with the growth of individual members of the British Empire. Before we leave this part of our subject we must glance at the development of that Empire as a whole. During the past half-century two general tendencies have shown themselves among the self-governing Dominions, namely, a growing sense of Imperial unity and a raising of the status of the individual Dominions. These two tendencies, at first sight contradictory, are in fact proving to be complementary to each other.

Imperial Conferences.

The visible expression of unity has been a series of Imperial Conferences. The first three were not specially

[1] Chapter XX, Section 2.

summoned but consisted of the Dominion Prime Ministers who happened to be visiting London, in 1887 and 1897 for the Golden and Diamond Jubilees of Queen Victoria and in 1902 for the coronation of King Edward VII. They were called Colonial Conferences, were presided over by the British Colonial Minister and achieved nothing very definite. In 1907 a new dignity was given to the movement when for the first time a meeting of Colonial representatives was specially convened: this meeting resolved that Conferences should henceforward be held every four years and should be entitled "Imperial Conferences". At the Conference of 1911, the Home Government agreed that the Dominion Ministers should be kept confidentially informed about the Government's military and diplomatic policy: this was a notable step towards Imperial unity, and the knowledge which was consequently given to the Dominion Governments was one of the explanations of the immediate support which the Empire gave to Britain at the outbreak of war in 1914. The Conference which should have been held in 1915 was, on account of the War, postponed until 1917. The 1917 Conference was necessarily concerned mainly with war-time problems, but it also passed the significant resolution that after the War a special meeting should be called "to consider the constitutional relations of the component parts of the Empire". The Conference of 1921, however, having considered this resolution, decided that the time was not ripe for a constitutional Conference, and matters therefore remained unchanged. This could not be regarded as a final word. A tangible expression of Imperial unity had long been the ideal of a section of British politicians. We have seen, for example, that Joseph Chamberlain [1] hoped to draw the units of the Empire together by means of tariff agreements. After the War this idea began to be revived. At a Conference of 1930 the project was discussed in some detail, and at a special Conference held at Ottawa in 1932 a

[1] Chapter IV, Section 5.

scheme of Imperial tariffs was agreed to and put into operation.

Status of Dominions.

While the Dominions have been thus drawing together in common policy and action, individually they have secured striking acknowledgments of a status hardly different from that of independent nations. This has been indirectly the result of the 1914–1919 War. The contribution which each of the Dominions made towards the Allied cause was not inferior to the contributions of several of the independent Allies. Each of the Dominion Premiers signed the Peace Treaties, and each of the Dominions was recognized as a member in its own right of the League of Nations just as Great Britain herself, France, Spain, and other States were recognized. The principle thus implied was explicitly expressed when the 1926 Imperial Conference resolved that the self-governing Dominions should henceforward enjoy equal status with Great Britain. What this declaration may mean for the future, and whether the tariff agreements of 1932 will lead to political machinery for Imperial government, only time can reveal. Whatever the future may hold, Britain has already to her credit the unprecedented achievement of a loyal Commonwealth of self-governing nations.

CHAPTER XV

EUROPE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY [1]

1. THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

Problems.

AFTER the defeat of Napoleon Bonaparte, a Congress of the Powers met at Vienna to resettle Europe. The Congress was opened on 1st November 1814. Before its discussions were complete, Napoleon broke out of his captivity on the island of Elba and, on 1st March 1815, landed in France. The deliberations of the Congress were temporarily interrupted but were later renewed and were concluded a few days before the Battle of Waterloo in June.

The political problems before the Congress would not be easy of solution. For nearly a quarter of a century Europe had been subject to a series of upheavals: the Revolution beginning in 1789 had not only brought a new régime in France but had acted as an object-lesson and an incentive to all the peoples of the Continent; Napoleon had overthrown dynasties and had re-drawn the boundaries of States; some of these Napoleonic adjustments had deprived the Emperor Francis II of so many of his possessions that in 1806 he had voluntarily dropped his title, and so the Holy Roman Empire, which dated back a thou-

[1] This chapter and some of the following ones contain modified quotations from the author's *Europe Since the Renaissance*.

EUROPE
1815.
GERMAN CONFEDERATION
BOUNDARY
AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS
OTTOMAN EMPIRE
NORWAY AND SWEDEN
St. Petersburg
Moscow
UNITED KINGDOM
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
Schlesung Holstein
Heligoland (Br)
HANOVER
NETHERLANDS
PRUSSIA
POLAND
Sea of Azov
Crimea
Sebastopol
Sedan
Paris
Metz
Alsace
Lorraine
BAVARIA
AUSTRIA
Vienna
AUSTRIAN EMPIRE
HUNGARY
MOLDAVIA
WALLACHIA
Sinope
Adrianople
Constantinople
Swiss Confed
FRANCE
BOSNIA
SERBIA
R. Danube
BULGARIA
OTTOMAN
Turin
PAPAL STATES
Unkiar Skelessi
TUSCANY
CORSICA Fr.
Rome
EMPIRE
KINGDOM OF SARDINIA
Naples
KINGDOM OF THE TWO SICILIES
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
SYRIA
GREECE
Cyprus
Navarino
Acre
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Crete
Gibraltar (Br)
Malta (Br.)
ALGERIA
MOROCCO
EGYPT
TRIPOLI

sand years, ceased to exist. Hence, the main questions awaiting the decision of the Congress—which was attended by representatives of all the large, and of nearly all the small, Powers—were first, to what extent it would restore the former boundaries and dynasties, and to what extent it would be influenced by the new order; second, what treatment should be meted out to France who had been primarily responsible for Europe's troubles. The following major decisions show in what sense those questions were answered.

Decisions.

In order to safeguard Europe against a recurrence of French aggressiveness, a strong buffer state was formed to the east of France by joining the Austrian Netherlands (that is, Belgium) to Holland. Austria was compensated for her loss of the Netherlands by being granted Lombardy and Venetia in North Italy. Prussia obtained a large province on the Rhine and a half of Saxony (which had been the last of the allies of Napoleon to desert him when the final crash was threatening), and the Czar of Russia was to administer the government of Poland which thus became virtually a province of Russia. The internal government of Germany was provided for by setting up the German Confederation consisting of thirty-nine German states under the Presidency of Austria. France was treated more leniently than her offences entitled her to expect: she had to pay an indemnity and to maintain an Allied army until the payments were complete; but, though Napoleon's annexations were restored to their former rulers, France suffered no loss of the territory which she had owned in 1789 and was even allowed—after fierce debates in the Congress—to retain Alsace and Lorraine which were part of Louis XIV's conquests.

The meaning of these decisions is clear: they were the work of the representatives of the great Powers who were concerned solely with promoting what seemed to be their

own immediate advantage and who imposed their will upon the smaller Powers. In so doing, the representatives of the larger States paid no heed to racial, religious or historical traditions. Such a settlement could not be permanent. The smaller States, which had been used for the convenience of their stronger neighbours, merely awaited their opportunity to reassert their independence or to regain whatever rights they had lost.

Democracy and Nationalism.

Expressed in more general terms, the Congress of Vienna ignored the demands of democracy and nationalism which were growing both in strength and in extent among the peoples of Europe. Democracy means government by the masses of the people themselves and not government by an absolute monarch or by a small ruling class. Nationalism means the desire of a people to be ruled by men of its own race or nation and not by foreigners. The one was flouted by the restoration of the former despotic rulers in Germany and Italy, and the other by giving north Italy to Austria, Belgium to Holland, and Poland to Russia. In ignoring these two demands, the Congress is not to be unduly blamed, for both were of recent growth. The French Revolution was the first example of democracy in a modern European State; and nationalism had been given a great impetus when Napoleon erected such national States as the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Italy, and when his invasions provoked popular opposition in Spain, Russia and Germany.

But though the members of the Congress may not have realized the significance of all their decisions, those decisions were nevertheless the cause of much trouble for Europe.

It is true that there was no large-scale war in Europe between 1815 and the Crimean War of 1854, but there was a series of sufficiently grave disturbances. Belgium objected to being absorbed by Holland—with whom she had nothing in common either racially, industrially or re-

ligiously—and in 1830 she revolted for, and secured, her independence. In Italy from 1848 till 1866 there were risings and wars to expel the Austrians from Lombardy and Venetia. Also, Alsace-Lorraine was one of the chief causes of war in 1870 and again in 1914.

The last-named example is a reminder that some of the effects of Vienna continued throughout the nineteenth century and even contributed to the causes of 1914. Indeed, the history of Europe during the nineteenth century was made up very largely of democratic and nationalist struggles against reactionary governments. To these struggles must be added those resulting from the "Eastern Question", which itself was little more than a complicated instance of nationalism, as will appear in our next chapter.

Holy Alliance, 1815.

One attempt was made to establish sound government in Europe and to prevent a recurrence of war. In 1815 Czar Alexander I proposed that the sovereigns of Europe should pledge themselves to govern their own States and to conduct their international relationships in accordance with the principles of the New Testament. Alexander himself, Francis I of Austria, and Frederick William III of Prussia were the first to sign this pledge and to form what came to be known as the Holy Alliance. In due course most of the other European rulers added their signatures.

Alexander was undoubtedly sincere in his attempt to inaugurate a period of peace. Unfortunately for his scheme, and unfortunately for Europe, as soon as the Alliance was launched its direction fell into malevolent hands. The master-mind among the politicians of the day was that of *Metternich*, the Chancellor of Austria. He had presided over the Congress of Vienna and had been responsible for its general policy: and after the Congress had ended, his influence remained paramount on the Continent. Over Frederick William III, who was a weak-willed monarch,

Metternich's ascendancy was complete. The Czar was not a difficult person to lead: though a genuine idealist, he was unstable in his enthusiasms and easily persuaded by any man who had a fixed purpose and who knew how to flatter. Metternich was soon able to convince the Czar that the great danger to Europe was the overthrow of existing rulers by revolutionaries, and that the reign of peace at which the Holy Alliance aimed could be secured only by crushing the least sign of political unrest wherever it occurred. The result was that the Alliance became an instrument in the hands of Metternich for the suppression of the twin movements of democracy and nationalism.

2. FRANCE AND GERMANY, 1815–1870

As a guide to the relations between Great Britain and the Continent, we have now to follow in a little more detail the trend of European affairs during the half-century or so after the Congress of Vienna. The story centres around three chief States, namely, France, Prussia and Austria.

France.

In France the fall of Napoleon I had meant the restoration of the Bourbon House in the person of *Louis XVIII*, brother of Louis XVI who had been guillotined. Louis XVIII was a moderate-minded man, but some of his followers were anxious for the restoration of the full privileges which the monarchy and the nobility had enjoyed previous to 1789. The leader of the discontented nobles was the King's younger brother Charles who, when Louis died in 1824, succeeded to the throne as *Charles X*. The result was not difficult to foresee. Political freedom was attacked in all directions: public meetings were forbidden, the press was subject to a strict censorship, the franchise was curtailed and a recalcitrant Parliament was dissolved. At last France would endure no more. In July 1830, a second Revolution broke out in Paris, and Charles X had to flee to England.

His successor was *Louis Philippe*, a member of a younger —the Orleanist—branch of the Bourbon family. Louis Philippe was personally very popular. He avoided pomp and show, and lived as an ordinary middle-class citizen, earning for himself the title of "Le roi bourgeois". But before long things began to go awry. On the one hand there were the political malcontents who, having no more use for a middle-class monarchy than for a pre-revolutionary one, wished for another republic. On the other, Louis Philippe's reign saw the rise and spread of modern socialism not only in France but throughout Europe. Seeing the threat which this implied to the monarchy, he and his Ministers tried methods of repression. The only result was to provoke more discontent still and to cause a third Revolution in February 1848. Louis Philippe, like his predecessor, fled to England; the monarchy fell, and the second French Republic began.

Louis Napoleon, nephew of the great Napoleon, was chosen as the new President for four years. Secretly he determined to use his position in order to establish a permanent Napoleonic dynasty. Employing all the wiles of a skilful politician to win popular favour, he proclaimed himself Napoleon III, Emperor of the French. The new Emperor was a man of some political ability, but it was the ability of a copyist rather than of an original statesman. In order to secure himself on the throne he tried to imitate the methods of his uncle: France was to be kept in a good humour by foreign conquest. In a word, Napoleon III's Empire rested upon military glory. He therefore mixed himself up in various foreign enterprises, sometimes deliberately stirring up trouble in order that he might win a gaudy victory. Unfortunately for him, there were in Europe men of a larger calibre than his own. In Bismarck, especially, he met more than his match, and the result, as the following paragraphs will show, was the fall of Napoleon in 1870.

Germany.

Meanwhile events had been moving rapidly on the other side of the Rhine. The story of Germany during the half-century following the Congress of Vienna is that of the rivalry of Prussia and Austria for the leadership of the other German States. As early as 1818 Prussia began to prepare for the coming struggle. In that year she revised her customs system by imposing very high duties on imports. Then she established the *Zollverein*, that is, a customs union, which the neighbouring States were allowed to join; those doing so were allowed to send goods to Prussia and to one another freely. Gradually most of the north German States joined, and these became accustomed to look to Prussia—and not to Austria—as their leader.

By this time other changes had taken place. The subject-races of Austria became more and more discontented as the century wore on, and the French Revolution of February 1848 fired them to strike for freedom. In March nearly all the Austrian dominions—Hungary, Bohemia, Italy, even Vienna itself—were ablaze. Though this did not secure democratic constitutions throughout the Austrian dominions, it did mean the overthrow of Metternich, who fled to England, and the decline of the prestige of Austria in the Councils of Europe.

The full effect of the Zollverein was seen when William I came to the throne of Prussia in 1861. William I, by training and by outlook, was a soldier, and he set to work to make Prussia a strong military Power. In 1862 he called Bismarck to be his Chancellor, and the two worked harmoniously together for common ends until William I's death in 1888. Bismarck's policy was to oust Austria from Germany, and then to make Prussia the leader of a united German Empire. To these ends he bent all his energies and all the resources of Prussia. The army was increased in size, equipped with the finest weapons known,

and turned into a perfect, efficient machine ready for use when circumstances made war advisable.

Bismarck achieved his object in three steps. The first concerned *Schleswig and Holstein*, which were Duchies ruled by the King of Denmark but not forming part of the Kingdom of Denmark (just as Scotland and England had been ruled by James I, though each had retained its separate nationality). In 1863 Frederick VII of Denmark died without a male successor. The Duchies recognized the Salic Law whereas Denmark did not, so that the new King of Denmark would not be allowed to rule the Duchies. To prevent this severance, Denmark annexed the Duchies, though Holstein had been a member of the Holy Roman Empire and had a German population. Germany therefore objected to the annexation. Prussia and Austria, acting together, overran Denmark in 1864 and seized the Duchies which were to belong to Prussia and Austria jointly, though Schleswig was to be administered by Prussia, and Holstein by Austria. This arrangement produced the opportunity which Bismarck was seeking in order to pick a quarrel with Austria.

In 1866 Bismarck complained that disorder in Holstein was infecting Schleswig, and he called upon Austria to tighten her governmental hold upon her province. On the pretence that conditions had not improved, in June 1866 Prussian troops expelled the Austrians from Holstein, and an *Austro-Prussian War* became inevitable. The Austrians were completely out-classed by the superior organization and equipment of the Prussians. Within three weeks the Austrian army was smashed and the fighting was over. By the Treaty of Prague, Austria paid an indemnity to Prussia, Prussia annexed certain German States which had declared for Austria, and a North German Confederation was formed consisting of States north of the Main and presided over by Prussia. It is easy to see how surely Bismarck was pressing on to his goal.

Elsewhere in Europe the rise of Prussia was causing

anxiety. This was particularly true of France where Napoleon III was still looking for opportunities of military glory. Unfortunately for Napoleon, he was matching himself against a bigger man than himself and was completely outwitted. During the three or four years following Austria's defeat, Bismarck played with Napoleon as a cat with a mouse. The details of the story are too involved to relate here. Suffice it to say that the *Franco-Prussian War* broke out in 1870. The Prussian army-leaders had had detailed plans for the campaign drawn up long before. As soon as France declared war in July, the Prussian military machine began to move. Army after army of the French was defeated. At Sedan on 1st September a huge army was surrounded, and Napoleon III himself and 100,000 of his men were taken prisoners. Paris was besieged during the winter, and at the end of January 1871 the town was compelled to capitulate. By the Treaty of Frankfurt, France was compelled to pay a huge indemnity and to cede to Germany the greater part of Alsace and Lorraine. Before the War was over, two momentous events had taken place. First, the capture of Napoleon III discredited his Government so thoroughly that the Empire was overthrown and the Third Republic was set up in its stead. Second, the enthusiasm which the victories had evoked among the German States was so great that Bismarck judged the time ripe for the completion of his plans. On 18th January, in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, which had witnessed the splendours of Louis XIV, the King of Prussia was proclaimed "German Emperor". Thus the stage was set for the events which were to lead to the War of 1914 and which are dealt with in a later chapter.

We have now to return to trace the attitude of Britain towards these events abroad. We can do so most easily by considering the careers of the three Foreign Secretaries who, from 1815 till 1865, were responsible for British policy, namely, Castlereagh, Canning and Palmerston.

3. CASTLEREAGH AND CANNING

Lord Castlereagh, 1769-1822.

Lord Castlereagh had had a distinguished political career before 1815. As early as 1798 he had been Chief Secretary for Ireland and was one of the Younger Pitt's chief supporters in bringing about the Union of Ireland with England in 1800. He served under Pitt as Secretary of State for War from 1805 till 1806. Pitt died in the latter year, and Castlereagh was not a member of the Coalition Ministry of "All the Talents" which followed, but in Portland's Ministry of 1807–1809 Castlereagh held office as War and Colonial Secretary, George Canning being in the Cabinet as Foreign Secretary. Castlereagh was therefore responsible for military affairs at a critical stage of the Napoleonic War. Among other operations, he planned an attack against Antwerp, and in 1809 a large, well-equipped force was sent out for that object, but its leader, Lord Chatham, elder brother of Pitt, proved hopelessly incompetent. Chatham contented himself with landing on Walcheren Island and doing nothing in particular, so that the whole expedition was a disastrous failure. Much disappointment was felt at home at the miscarriage of the attempt, and bitter criticism was brought against the responsible Ministers. Even within the Cabinet disputes over the Walcheren expedition were so bitter that Castlereagh and Canning fought a duel. Neither was seriously hurt, but the presence within the same Cabinet of two men who had fought a duel was impossible, and both of them retired from office.

In the Lord Liverpool Cabinet of 1812–1827, Castlereagh once more became Foreign Secretary ;[1] and it was in this Ministry that he did his best remembered work. Though not directly responsible for the operations of the War, Castlereagh was the diplomatist who kept the Allies together. In the critical days of January 1814, when the

[1] Chapter II, Section 1.

opposition to Napoleon was in danger of breaking up, Castlereagh went to the Continent and secured the continued alliance of Austria, Russia and Prussia, and so prevented Napoleon from making peace with each of the Powers separately. At the Congress of Vienna, Castlereagh was Britain's leading representative, and it was he, backed by Wellington, who prevented the terms of the Treaty from being more severe than they were. Prussia had wished to punish France by annexing Alsace-Lorraine. The British representatives, remembering—as their successors have not always done—that to humiliate an enemy at the end of a war is a sure way to cause strife later, insisted that the two provinces should remain French.

The same spirit animated Castlereagh's attitude to the Holy Alliance. He regarded the notion of trying to govern Europe according to high-sounding religious principles as being, in his own phrase, "a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense". This did not mean that he favoured government that violated Christian principles or that he was unwilling to co-operate with foreign Powers for specific, as distinct from vague and general, purposes. In November 1815, he consented to the formation of the *Quadruple Alliance* of Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia. The signatories agreed to maintain the terms of the Treaty of Vienna and to hold regular meetings to review the European situation. In 1818, France was allowed to join the Alliance which, owing to its regular joint actions, became known as the "Concert of Europe".

Castlereagh's judgment on the futility of the Holy Alliance was borne out by the events which followed. The Holy Alliance, as we have seen, became a reactionary instrument for the suppression of freedom. In 1820 there were popular risings in Spain and Naples to compel the rulers of those States to grant representative government. The members of the Alliance met in Congress at *Troppau* in Austria, and again, early in 1821, at *Laibach* to discuss how these threats to European peace should be dealt

with. Metternich, fearful lest the risings should spread to other countries, persuaded the Congress to send troops to suppress the disturbances. Castlereagh protested vigorously against such meddling with the domestic affairs of independent States, and the British representative was instructed to abstain from all part in the discussion. Nevertheless troops were sent to Naples where the rising was suffocated. The Spanish revolution continued, and in September 1822 another Congress was held at *Verona*. Before its sittings commenced, Castlereagh, worn out by the anxieties of his office, had committed suicide. The Duke of Wellington represented Britain at the Congress. He too protested, though vainly, against interference; but the Congress authorized the sending of 100,000 French troops into Spain for the support of the absolute monarch.

After the death of Castlereagh, the direction of British foreign policy fell to his former rival, George Canning.

Canning, 1770-1827.

Like Castlereagh, Canning had served under Pitt, in whose Ministries he had held various offices. Then, as we have seen, in the Portland Ministry of 1807–1809 he was Foreign Secretary and as such was responsible for the Copenhagen bombardment (1807) which thwarted Napoleon's Continental System. The duel with Castlereagh in 1809 caused the temporary retirement of Canning from politics, but in 1816 he was made President of the Board of Control—which was responsible for the government of India—and so regained a seat in the Cabinet. Four years later he resigned owing to Queen Caroline's "affair".[1] In 1822 he was appointed Governor-General of India and was on the point of leaving England to take up his new duties when Castlereagh committed suicide. There was only one possible successor to the dead statesman, and Canning once more became Foreign Secretary.

[1] Chapter II, Section 1.

In some respects the two men were sharply contrasted. Whereas Castlereagh had been an almost silent politician, Canning was gifted with a ready eloquence. Too often his speech was marked by bitter sarcasm which aroused equally bitter resentment among its victims. This largely accounts for the reputation for cunning which had been with Canning since early in his career, so that he was generally distrusted, having few friends and many enemies. Another point of contrast between Castlereagh and Canning was that whereas Castlereagh was an unbending Tory of the old school, Canning was more progressive, and his entry into the Cabinet in 1822 contributed towards the "liberalizing" of the Liverpool Ministry.[1]

In foreign policy, however, the two men adhered to the same principle: Canning, like Castlereagh, refused to countenance interference with the domestic affairs of other States or to lend British aid for the suppression of popular movements. Indeed, as a more energetic man, Canning pursued this policy more decisively than Castlereagh had done.

During his period at the Foreign Office, another factor in European politics began to assume importance. This was the growth of Russian power in the south-east of the Continent. In 1825 Czar Alexander I died, and this virtually ended the Holy Alliance of which he had been the author. Henceforward Russia played an independent part, aiming more exclusively at her own advantage. In particular she tried to profit by the increasing weakness of Turkey whose possessions in Europe she coveted. This policy formed part of the "Eastern Question" and as such will be dealt with in our next chapter. Here we may notice that Canning was afraid that the extension of Russian power on the Mediterranean would threaten British naval supremacy and would hinder British communications with the East. To counteract Russia's designs became, therefore, one of the chief items of Canning's

[1] Chapter II, Section 1.

foreign policy. This was exemplified in his attitude in the War of Greek Independence [1] which had begun in 1821, that is, the year before he became Foreign Secretary. In the crisis of that War, just previous to the Battle of Navarino (1827), Canning died and the direction of foreign affairs passed under the control of Wellington. Wellington disagreed with Canning's intervention in European politics, and Britain immediately withdrew from the War, leaving Russia to deal with Turkey alone.

Most of Wellington's successors at the Foreign Office returned to Canning's policy of counteracting the power of Russia in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean. Sometimes Britain checked Russia by allying with her and sometimes—as in the Crimean War—by fighting her, but for many years the fear of Russia provides the clue to Britain's foreign relationships. The man who was most of all responsible for this policy was the third of the Foreign Secretaries whom we have mentioned, namely, Lord Palmerston.

4. PALMERSTON, 1784–1865

Career.

Viscount Palmerston was an Irish peer and was therefore not a member of the English House of Lords. In 1806, as soon as he had finished his course at Cambridge University, and when only twenty-three years of age, he was returned to the House of Commons as member for a pocket-borough, and during the rest of his long life his membership of the House continued unbroken. He first sat as a Tory, and as such he was Secretary at War from 1809 till 1828. During the latter years of that period his views became more "liberal", and, as a Canningite, he supported Roman Catholic Emancipation. In 1828, along with the other Canningites (though Canning himself was by that time dead), Palmerston definitely severed him-

[1] Chapter XVI, Section 2.

self from Wellington and the Tories because he favoured parliamentary reform. Henceforward he was a Whig.

In considering the general features of Palmerston's career, the following summary will be a useful guide:

1. Secretary at War, 1809–1828.
2. He shaped British foreign policy, either as Foreign Secretary or as Prime Minister, 1830–1865 (except when Home Secretary, 1852–1855, and when the Whigs were out of office 1841–1846 and a few other very brief periods).
3. Prime Minister 1855–1858; 1859–1865.

Policy.

Whether in office or out of office, during more than one complete generation (1830–1865) Lord Palmerston was the dominating figure in British politics and often in Continental politics as well. His influence was due to the clearness of his views concerning the part Britain should play in world-affairs and to his unbounded self-confidence. His basic conviction was that everything British was perfect, including the Constitution as it stood after 1832. Consequently, foreign peoples were to be pitied for not having enjoyed the privilege of being born on this side of the Channel; and, wherever they wished it, they must be helped to win for themselves Constitutions similar to that of Britain. Liberal movements on the Continent could therefore rely upon Palmerston's support. But in British politics Palmerston's attitude was very different from this: if the Constitution as it stood was perfect, it could be altered only for the worse, and he resisted all movements for change. This contrast between his domestic and his foreign views is often expressed by saying that he was conservative at home and liberal abroad.

Palmerston's opposition to progressive measures in no way impaired his popularity with the British people. His

bluff heartiness stamped him as a fine example of that mythical personage, "a typical Englishman"—notwithstanding his being really Irish!—and even when the people knew that he was opposing their wishes, they adored him personally and continued affectionately to refer to him as "Old Pam". No one was a better-known figure riding in the Park, right up to his death at eighty-one years of age, than Viscount Palmerston.

Popularity with the masses did not carry with it popularity among those in authority, whether at home or abroad. To Queen Victoria he was particularly obnoxious. Notwithstanding the constitutional character of the British monarchy, the King has the right to see and approve despatches sent to ambassadors abroad. Palmerston rode rough-shod over this and many other customs. As Foreign Secretary, he communicated to ambassadors his views on all manner of subjects without consulting either the Queen or the Prime Minister. The Queen repeatedly protested but without much result. At last, in 1851, when Louis Napoleon carried through his *coup d'état* and got himself chosen President for ten years with a new Constitution, Palmerston played a false move. Whether the new régime in France would endure could not at first be predicted, and the European Courts—including that of Britain—hesitated to give the new Emperor official recognition. But Palmerston did not know the meaning of hesitation, and on his sole responsibility he informed the French ambassador that he would support the Empire. Queen Victoria was rightly and angrily indignant, and Lord John Russell, the Prime Minister, forthwith dismissed Palmerston from the Ministry. Two months later Palmerston good-humouredly avenged himself by leading a number of Whigs into the lobby against the Government, so causing the fall of "Johnny Russell". This was thoroughly typical of Palmerston's high-handed methods and of his irrepressible buoyancy: however unreasonable his position and however great the odds against him, he invariably rose

to the surface or, if temporarily submerged, was certain to float ashore on the next wave.

Belgian Independence, 1830.

A typical example of Palmerston's support of liberalism on the Continent is afforded by his action, at the very outset of his career at the Foreign Office, in the Belgian Independence movement.

The linking of Belgium to Holland by the Congress of Vienna was, as we have seen, an artificial union certain to cause unrest. Holland used her supremacy in order to begin the suppression of Belgian nationality. Much discontent inevitably ensued, and the enthusiasm awakened by the overthrow of the despotic Charles X of France in July 1830 led to nationalist riots at Brussels. The riots became revolution, and seemed to have every prospect of success. The decisive factor in this success would be the attitude of the rest of Europe, for an independent Belgium would be a violation of the Treaty of Vienna. French support could be relied upon, since Louis Philippe, the new King of France, had himself risen to power by a revolution. Then, in November 1830, Palmerston went to the British Foreign Office, and from that moment British support would be assured also. Palmerston cared nothing for the letter of a Treaty so long as he could help a nation towards freedom. A Conference of the Powers was held in London in November 1830. After much discussion, details as to boundaries and similar questions were settled, and Prince Leopold of Coburg was acknowledged as King. Further, the five great Powers—Britain, France, Prussia, Austria and Russia—guaranteed the perpetual neutrality of Belgium: this agreement was signed in January 1831 and confirmed in 1839. Holland maintained a policy of stubborn resistance; and only when in May 1833 French troops had seized Antwerp and a British fleet had blockaded Dutch ports, did Holland agree to accept the inevitable. Even then King William of Holland held out,

and not until 1839 could he be induced to sign the Treaty of London by which the independence of Belgium was formally recognized.

In four other subjects of British foreign politics Palmerston played a particularly decisive part, namely, the relations with Mehemet Ali of Egypt, 1841; the Crimean War, 1854–1856; the intervention of Prussia and Austria in Schleswig-Holstein, 1863–1864; and the American Civil War, 1861–1865. These subjects will be dealt with in the next chapters of this volume.

CHAPTER XVI

THE EASTERN QUESTION

1. MEANING OF "THE EASTERN QUESTION"

THE "Eastern Question" is the general name given to the problems caused by contact between western and eastern peoples. So far as British policy has been concerned, such contact has taken place in two spheres, namely, in China and in the south-east of Europe, giving rise to the "Far Eastern" and the "Near Eastern" Questions respectively. It is the latter which is the subject of this chapter.

Turks in Europe.

The easterners in Europe are, of course, the Turks, one branch of whom—the Ottoman Turks—expanded from Asia Minor into Europe during the middle of the fourteenth century. The climax of their invasion was their capture of Constantinople in 1453. This event proved to be not the conclusion of a movement but rather the first stage of a process of which we have not yet seen the end. Broadly speaking, the process has had two main phases, their dividing-point being at the year 1683.

With Constantinople as their centre, the Turks, after 1453, began to advance in ever-widening circles into the centre of Europe. They overran the Balkans, the Danubian Principalities north of the Danube, and Hungary. By 1683, 200,000 of them were besieging Vienna. In that year, John Sobieski, King of Poland—then the most

extensive European State except Russia—gathered an army, advanced against the Turks, and routed them.

That event marked the turn of the tide. Just as a succession of waves of Turkish power had radiated out from Constantinople, so now the reverse process set in. Steadily the tide receded towards its starting-point. But though the movement was steady it was slow, and the map shows that in 1815 a large area of south-eastern Europe was still in Turkish hands. Moreover, the decline of Turkish power raised many complicated problems. These were of two kinds. First, as the Turks were ejected, the question of who should rule the lands thus freed was continually arising; the result was jealousy and intrigues which at intervals led to open war. Second, a decline in Turkish power meant that the subject-peoples were inefficiently and unjustly governed: these peoples, goaded by grievances, were always liable to break into revolt.

Attitude of Europe.

Two countries, other than those under Turkish control, were especially concerned in this situation, namely, Russia and Austria. The nature of Russia's interest has been explained already. In the declining power of the Turks, Russia saw an opportunity to acquire lands which would take her towards Constantinople and the Mediterranean. For some years Russia had been awake to this possibility. In 1774, for example, war between Russia and Turkey had been brought to a close by the *Treaty of Kutchuck-Kainardji* whereby Russia had acquired Azov and some surrounding territory on the northern shores of the Black Sea, was granted the right to send her trading vessels through the Dardanelles, and was recognized as the protector of the Greek Christians in Constantinople, that is, of the members of the Greek Orthodox Church, which was the Church also of the Russians. This last provision of the Treaty was highly important: it meant that if at any time the security of the Greek Christians in Constantinople seemed to be

RACE MAP of S.E. EUROPE.
Poles
Russians
Czechs
Slovaks
Ruthenes
Ruthenes
Roumanians
Slovenes
Croats
Serbs
Bulgarians
Italians
DR.H
GERMANS
SLAVS
Russians
Poles
Bulgarians
Czechs &
Slovaks
Serbs
Croats
Slovenes
LATINS
Italians
Roumanians
GREEKS
MAGYARS
TURKS
ALBANIANS
Boundary of AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

threatened by their Mohammedan overlords, the Turks, Russia would have the right to intervene. After 1774 Russia made other Treaties with Turkey and so obtained more lands along the western shores of the Black Sea. She was thus in a position to profit by any further decline of Turkish influence in south-eastern Europe.

Austria's interest in Turkey's position in Europe was of a different kind. First, a large proportion of Austria's subjects were Slavs and were closely akin to the peoples of the Balkans. Among the latter the nationalist movement was producing a demand for independence of Turkey. Austria feared lest this movement should spread to the Slavs in her own dominions. Second, Russia was the greatest Slav State in Europe; and if Russia, in her efforts to expand southwards, encouraged the Slavs of Austria, as well as of the Balkans, to look towards Russia as their natural protector and leader, the situation of Austria might be extremely precarious. For these reasons, Austria tended to support Turkey against both Russia and rebellious peoples in the Balkans.

Britain's interest in the Eastern Question was mainly maritime. As we saw in the previous chapter, Britain, under the guidance of Castlereagh, Canning and Palmerston, aimed at checking the advance of Russia, sometimes by allying with Russia and sometimes by supporting Turkey. For many years the problem of the relationship between Turkey and Europe had been a local one concerning the countries actually touched or overrun by the Turks. But in 1821 there occurred an event which forced the problem upon the notice of other Powers also, including Britain. This event was the revolt of the Greeks.

2. WAR OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE, 1821–1829

Outbreak of War.

A revolt against Turkish rule had long been brewing among the Greeks. Since 1815 a secret society had been

arousing enthusiasm and enlisting recruits in preparation for a struggle for independence when the time seemed ripe. In 1821 the flag of revolt was raised. In Britain especially there was an enthusiastic outburst in favour of the Greeks. For this enthusiasm Lord Byron was chiefly responsible. Byron was living in Italy when the Greek revolt broke out and, partly because the Greeks were striking for freedom and partly because they were regarded as the descendants of the ancient Greeks to whose literature the poet was devoted, he gave himself and his possessions ardently to their cause. His example inspired thousands of other Englishmen to go to Greece as volunteers, and their help was certainly a decisive factor in the struggle. In 1824 Byron died of fever at Missolonghi. He was mourned by the Greeks as though he had been a national hero.

European Intervention.

Meantime the war was going generally in favour of the Greeks, and the Turks gradually realized the possibility of losing Greece. They therefore called in the help of Mehemet Ali, who, as Pasha of Egypt, was nominally the subject of the Sultan. Eleven thousand of Mehemet's troops, well equipped and trained on European lines, were sent in 1824 under Ibrahim, the son of Mehemet. This completely changed the situation. The Greeks would be crushed unless they received outside support; and the Powers, who hitherto had dallied with the question, had to decide what steps they would take. The danger was that Russia would intervene alone in order to save her co-religionists from being suppressed and punished by the Infidels. To prevent such interference by Russia, Canning managed to arrange for joint action by Britain, France and Russia. The terms which they were to demand from both Greeks and Turks were embodied in the *Treaty of London* of 1827. In brief, Greece was to be a self-governing State under Turkish sovereignty, and fighting was to cease at once.

Turkey not unnaturally refused to recognize the right of

outsiders to dictate the terms which she should make with rebels, especially now that the Greeks were being beaten. An Allied fleet, under Admiral Codrington, was therefore despatched to enforce the acceptance of the clauses of the Treaty of London. The Turks remained obdurate, chance shots fired from a Turkish ship led to a general engagement, and at the *Battle of Navarino* in October 1827 the Turkish fleet was destroyed. None of the Allies had imagined that so drastic a step would be necessary, and they were somewhat abashed by the results of their own handiwork. In August, previous to Navarino, Canning had died and had been succeeded at the Foreign Office by Wellington, who strongly disliked the policy of interfering to protect rebels. He therefore publicly referred to the battle as an "untoward incident", withdrew from further share in the Greek War, and so threw away all that Canning's diplomacy had won.

Next year Russia declared war upon Turkey, and the War of Greek Independence became the Russo-Turkish War, valuable military aid being given to Russia by France. Russia sent large forces against the Turks and by August 1829 had advanced into Turkish territory as far as Adrianople. The way was clear for an advance upon Constantinople, and to save their capital the Turks agreed to make peace. The *Treaty of Adrianople* therefore followed. It settled territorial matters in dispute between Russia and Turkey, and it referred the Greek question to a conference to be held in London. In 1832—by which time Palmerston was Foreign Secretary—the conference agreed that Greece should be completely independent.

The Convention of London settled the question of the independence of Greece, but it was only the beginning of a whole series of other questions. It gave to the nationalist movement a marked impetus among the Balkan peoples, one after another of whom sought to obtain independence of Turkey as Greece had done. The result was continuous unrest, and often war, culminating in the catastrophe of

1914. Greek independence, in short, was the first step towards the dissolution of the Turkish Empire in Europe.

3. MEHEMET ALI

Syria.

One indirect result of the Greek War was to produce trouble for the Sultan in another part of his dominions, namely, in Syria. Here also circumstances led to the intervention of European Powers, including Britain. We have seen that at the crisis of the Greek War the Sultan had called in the help of Mehemet Ali, the powerful Pasha of Egypt. Egypt was part of the Turkish Empire, and Mehemet was the Sultan's viceroy. His co-operation against the Greeks had been secured by the promise that he should be the Pasha of Syria also when the war was over. After the Battle of Navarino, however, the Sultan, fearing the power of Mehemet, refused to keep his promise. This was a short-sighted policy to adopt towards a strong vassal. Mehemet merely proceeded to seize for himself what the Sultan refused to give. In 1832 Mehemet sent his son Ibrahim into Syria with 30,000 troops. Ibrahim, who displayed great generalship, carried everything before him. He took Acre and Damascus, pushed on into Asia Minor, and threatened Constantinople. The effete Government of the Sultan seemed about to be dissolved by its own subject.

At this point Europe began to be interested. The possession of Constantinople and the Balkans by a feeble Turkish Government was one thing, but the control of those territories by Mehemet Ali and an efficient army would be quite another thing. Russia especially recognized that the Sultan's deposition by Mehemet would frustrate all the hopes of Russian expansion towards the Mediterranean. Czar Nicholas I therefore adopted the obvious policy of offering his support to the Sultan against Mehemet. The Sultan gladly accepted, and Russian troops were landed on the Asia Minor shore opposite Constantinople.

Britain and France, having no desire to see the disposal of Turkish territory in Russian hands alone, induced the Sultan to grant to Mehemet the Pashalik of Syria. Thereupon Ibrahim went homewards.

Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi, 1833.

The intervention of Britain and France had checked Russia in her attempt to control the Sultan, but it had not checkmated her. Russia had still one move left, and she played it skilfully. As a reward for the help given against Mehemet, Russia secured the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi. By its terms, Turkey undertook to close the Dardanelles to the warships of all nations except of Russia, and Russia promised to help Turkey whenever Turkey was at war. This made the Black Sea a Russian lake and gave to Russia the right to interfere in the foreign affairs of Turkey. Turkey became, in effect, a mere protectorate of Russia.

The friendship of Russia encouraged the Sultan to hope that an opportunity might arrive for reducing Mehemet Ali to his proper condition as the servant of the Porte—that is, of the Turkish Government—and so for recovering Syria. During some years the Sultan made warlike preparations, and in 1839, judging himself at last strong enough, he sent an army into Syria. But once more Ibrahim routed the Sultan's army, and once more he marched towards Constantinople.

Treaty of London, 1840.

The Powers of Europe watched events anxiously, for the Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi had given to Russia the right to intervene, and Russia was certain to demand further concessions as the price of her aid. The problem was to know how the other Powers could gain a voice in the settlement. Matters were complicated by France who, under Louis Philippe, tried to counteract British influence in the east Mediterranean by favouring Mehemet Ali. Palmerston therefore proceeded without France and, by

adroit and energetic diplomacy, arranged a conference in London to concert measures for the support of the Sultan. The result was the Treaty of London of 1840 signed by Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia. The Allies agreed that Mehemet Ali should be recognized as the hereditary Pasha of Egypt but that he should renounce all his conquests. France was furious at being thus left aside and outmanœuvred, and war with Britain was imminent. But Palmerston jauntily and confidently pursued his chosen policy.

Mehemet Ali, carried away by the triumphs of his army in Syria, refused the Allies' terms. A combined British and Austrian fleet was therefore sent to bombard the Syrian coast, Acre was taken, and Ibrahim was compelled to evacuate Syria.

Straits Convention, 1841.

The lesson was not lost upon France. Next year she joined the other four Powers in signing a Straits Convention whereby the Dardanelles were to be closed to the warships of all nations. This completely reversed the policy of Unkiar-Skelessi and was a notable triumph for the diplomacy of Palmerston. The Eastern Question was thereby settled until it was reopened by the events leading up to the Crimean War.

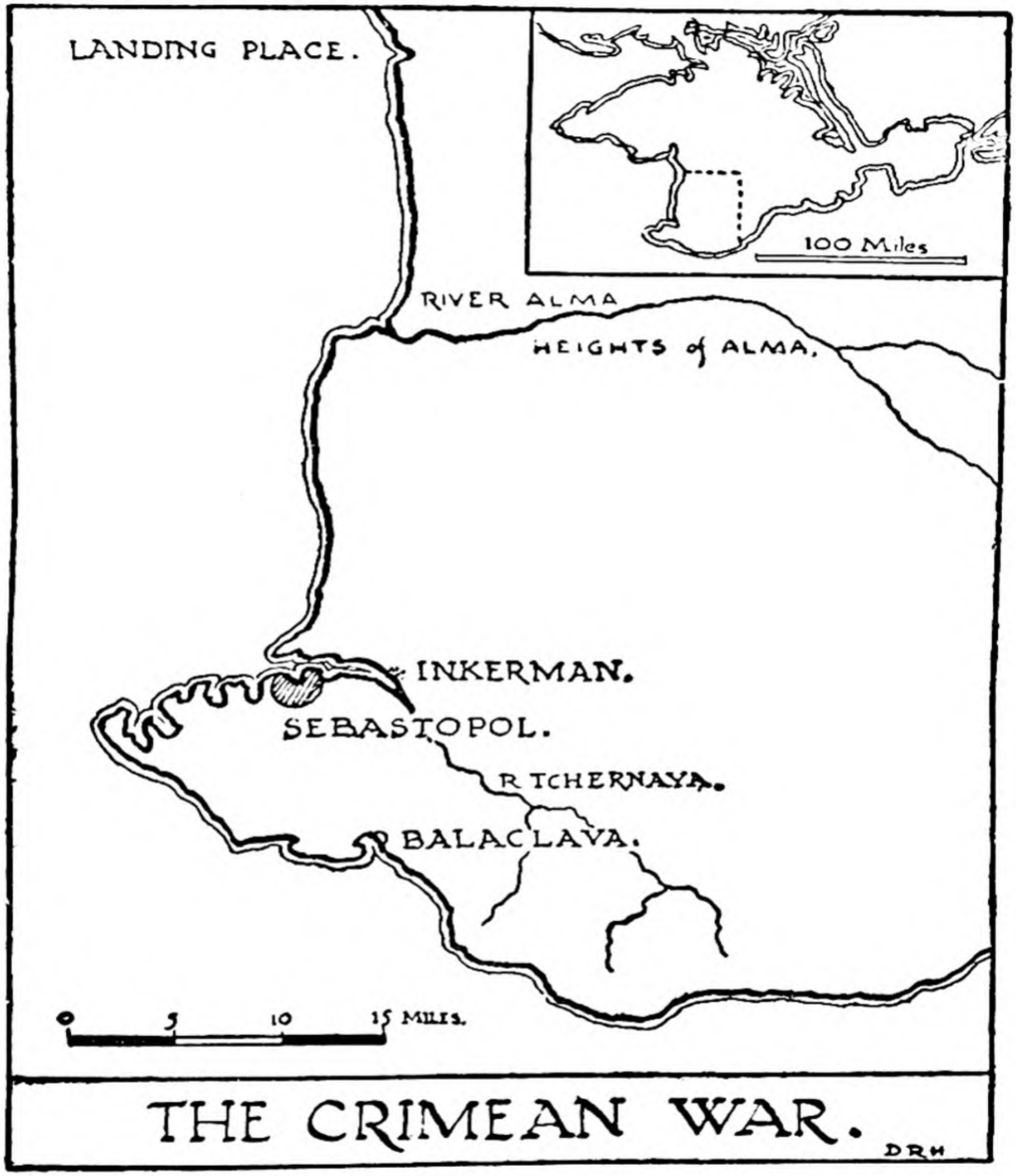
4. CRIMEAN WAR, 1854–1856

Causes of War.

The Crimean War was only another phase of the Eastern Question, the real causes of the War being those which we have seen lying behind that Question whenever it was raised, namely the declining power of Turkey and the fear of Russian encroachments in the Balkans. Turkey's continuous decay made the problem more acute every year; so that a trivial dispute might at any time produce a crisis. For the climax which was reached in 1854 two men were

particularly responsible, namely, Czar Nicholas I and Napoleon III.

The Czar left little doubt about his own motives. In



January 1853, during a conversation with Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British Ambassador at St. Petersburg, Nicholas suggested that Turkey was "a very sick man"

and that an agreement ought to be made as to how the invalid's possessions should be divided when death occurred. The Czar's own proposal was that Britain should have Egypt and Crete, and that the Turkish territory in the Balkans should be placed under Russian protection. The effect of this conversation was the opposite to that which Nicholas hoped: the British Government became more anxious than ever to bolster up Turkey and more suspicious of Russian intrigues.

Napoleon's attitude was the outcome of his political position. Basing his bid for popularity upon the glamour of the Napoleonic name, he needed to imitate his famous uncle by winning military victories. Also one of his strongest supports was the clerical party representing the interests of the Roman Catholic Church. If, therefore, he could engage in a war which both added lustre to his arms and secured the interests of the Church, he would attain a double object. An opportunity which seemed ideal for his purpose presented itself in Palestine.

Certain places in the Holy Land which were associated with outstanding events in the life of Christ had for centuries been visited by pilgrims from Europe. Though the Turks who ruled Palestine were Mohammedans, the Christian pilgrims suffered no interference. Indeed, in 1740 the Porte had recognized the right of France to care for and to guard certain shrines in the Holy Land. Then had followed the French Revolution of 1789 during which Christianity had been proscribed in France, so that the Holy Places became neglected. This afforded an opportunity for monks of the Greek Church to take over the forsaken shrines. But after the passing of the Revolutionary régime in France, the Roman Catholics began to reassert their former privileges. The result was squabbles between the rival bodies of monks. In March 1853—that is, within two months of the conversation with Seymour—the Czar demanded not only that the Sultan should confirm to the Orthodox Church the privileges which she had been

enjoying in Palestine, but also that the Sultan should recognize the Czar as the protector of *all* the Greek Christians in the Turkish Empire. The latter demand was an unwarrantable extension of the Treaty of Kutchuck-Kainardji—which had recognized the Czar as the protector of Greek Christians in Constantinople only—and would have meant that the majority of the Sultan's subjects in Europe would have looked not to him but to the Czar as their virtual overlord. To such a demand Turkey could never agree and at the same time maintain her integrity.

Here was an ideal opportunity for Napoleon III to wage a war that would champion the interests of the Church and—since Britain also was certain to be opposed to Russia—that would bring military success.

Outbreak of War.

The decisive factor was the attitude of the British Government. In December 1852 Lord Aberdeen had become Prime Minister in a Cabinet which included Whigs and Peelites. This Coalition Ministry was unable to make up its mind about its attitude towards the complicated situation abroad. Lord Aberdeen and one section of Ministers favoured a policy of peaceful non-intervention, while another section—including Palmerston, then Home Secretary—urged vigorous measures against Russian pretensions. Had either of these policies been adopted consistently by a united Cabinet, war might have been avoided: if the Sultan had been less confident of British support he would have been more disposed to compromise with the Czar; and if, on the other hand, the Czar had been certain that Britain would have gone to war against him, he would have been less obstinate in his demands.

The practical effect of the division within the Cabinet was that the responsibility for day-to-day decisions was thrown upon the British ambassador at Constantinople, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. Redcliffe's experience in the East had convinced him of the danger of Russian schemes

and had made him a strong supporter of the Palmerstonian policy. When the Sultan consulted Redcliffe about the reply to be sent to Russia's demand for recognition as protector of the Greek Christians, the ambassador advised the rejection of the demand. As this was tantamount to a promise of British support, the Sultan followed the advice. This was the decisive step, and, though the Powers tried to negotiate a compromise between the disputants, war was almost inevitable.

In July, Russian troops advanced into the Danubian Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia. Repeated demands by Turkey for the withdrawal of the troops led to the Sultan's declaration of war in October. Still no definite clash of arms took place until November, when a Russian squadron suddenly and without warning sank a number of Turkish ships off Sinope on the southern coast of the Black Sea. Britain and France then took up a firmer attitude and demanded that Russia should evacuate the two Turkish Provinces north of the Danube, and, when this was refused, in March 1854 they declared war.

Opening Events.

The Allies decided to concentrate their attack upon the Crimea Peninsula, since this would compel the Russians to withdraw from the Balkans and would enable the British and the French to use their fleets in the operations. The British sent out Lord Raglan, who had fought under Wellington in the Peninsular War, in command of some 30,000 troops. The French army numbered 40,000 and was led by Marshal St. Arnaud. Both the generals were old men unfitted for the rigours of the campaign. Arnaud, in addition, was suffering from a fatal disease, was averse to making quick decisions, and was not gifted with the tact necessary in one of the leaders of a joint expedition. Much of the early failure in the war was due to these defects in Arnaud rather than to any incompetence in

Raglan. Not until mid-September 1854 were the Allied forces ready for action in the Crimea.

The main object of the attack was the reduction of the great Russian fortress of Sebastopol. The Allies landed to the north of the town, and in advancing southward found their way barred at the river *Alma*. A few hours of heavy fighting ended in the complete rout of the Russians, and the Allies, had they pressed home their advantage at once, could have marched on to Sebastopol and ended the war in two or three days. This Arnaud refused to do, but insisted upon resting his men. The Russians made the utmost use of their unexpected good fortune. With equal skill and vigour, their general Todelben fortified Sebastopol so that, by the time the Allies arrived, it could be reduced only by heavy siege guns. Lack of such guns compelled the Allies to resort to the other alternative, namely, a regular and perhaps prolonged siege. They moved round to the south of the fortress and awaited the arrival of siege trains.

Meanwhile the Russians were receiving reinforcements of men and supplies, and in October they tried by a sudden sweep to drive the Allies from the port of *Balaclava* which was their commissariat base. The brunt of the resistance fell upon the British, the bravery of whose soldiers and the incapacity of whose officers were strikingly illustrated by the disastrous charge of the Light Brigade: through a complete misunderstanding of the intention of Raglan's order at a crisis of the engagement, 600 men were sent against overwhelming numbers of the enemy, and less than 200 of them returned. The Russians, however, failed to secure Balaclava.

In November they made another assault based upon *Inkerman* and the valley of the river Tchernaya. The action was fought in a dense mist so that the generals were helpless and the issue of the day depended upon the valour of their men. Though the French and the British were enormously outnumbered by the enemy, they fought

with such dogged gallantry that the Russians were again compelled to retire without achieving their object

Conduct of the War.

By this time the winter was setting in. Within a few days of the action at Inkerman a terrific gale carried off the tents, destroyed masses of stores on the land, and wrecked loaded vessels in the ports. As a result, the privations of the troops were terrible beyond description. The men were without shelter from the terrible weather which was upon them ; clothes, boots and food were alike lacking. The truth was that the storm merely intensified more serious ills already existing. The British army was utterly unprepared for a large-scale Continental war. In organization and in its type of equipment it had hardly changed since Waterloo : the Duke of Wellington had died as recently as 1852, and no one had dared—and few had desired—to reshape the army while he lived. The vicious system of the purchase of commissions still obtained—and was not remedied until 1871—and the result was incapacity in every branch of the service. Various departments were independently responsible for various jobs—transport, commissariat, medical—and no attempt was made to co-ordinate them. Chaos was the inevitable outcome. Shiploads of stores were sent to the Crimea and were unloaded, but no transport system existed to carry the goods up to the trenches, with the absurd but terrible result that men were perishing from cold and hunger while little more than half a dozen miles away stores of clothes and food were rotting. Lack of proper supplies brought on scurvy, dysentry, fever and even cholera. This revealed the most criminal neglect of all, namely, of hospital accommodation, staffs and medicines. The base-hospital at Scutari, 500 miles from the Crimea, consisted of an old Turkish barrack without decent sanitation, common drugs, pure water, or trained attendants. Men died in hundreds from sheer lack of care at least as much as from illness or wounds.

These atrocious conditions were brought home to the minds and consciences of the British people by the reports of *The Times* war correspondent. For the first time in history, the telegraph was available for the despatch of reports from "the front". When the sufferings of the troops became known, the British people shuddered. One person at least did more than shudder. Miss *Florence Nightingale*, after much difficulty in avoiding Government "red tape", obtained permission to go out and do her best to reform the hospital arrangements. This lady, though cultured and rich, had broken through all the prejudice of her class and had undergone training as a nurse. Her money and her skill she now placed at the disposal of the Government and the troops. Having arrived at Scutari in November 1854—just before the Inkerman wounded arrived—she succeeded, by determination, tact and skill, in gradually transforming the horrible conditions which she found. Her amazing example may fairly be claimed as contributing powerfully to the movement for the freeing of women from the narrow sphere then considered fit for their activities and for giving them the large place which they now occupy in every sphere of life.

Yet no matter how much individuals might strive to amend the sufferings of the men and the inane errors of their commanders, no thorough-going improvement would be possible without a change of Government. This was the conviction which gradually spread among both people and Parliament. In January 1855 Lord Aberdeen's Ministry was defeated and resigned office. A new administration was formed under Lord Palmerston, who at the age of seventy-one thus became Prime Minister for the first time, and under his vigorous direction the whole conduct of the war took a new and hopeful turn.

Palmerston and the War.

One of Palmerston's first steps was the reorganization of the War Office at home. Henceforward the responsi-

bility for all branches of military preparations rested with one central authority instead of, as formerly, with several independent departments. In particular, the transport service was greatly improved. Though such overhauling of the machine was required before permanent progress was possible, some time necessarily elapsed before the full effect of the reforms was felt at the front. In the meantime the troops had to exist through the terrors of the Russian winter. Lack of warm clothing and of properly varied food-rations made the troops unfit to resist the rigours of the weather. Deaths were frequent, and, of those men who lived on, only a small proportion were at any one time really fit for active service. One may well doubt whether a British army has ever had to face such an ordeal as that of the Crimean winter of 1854–1855.

In the spring of 1855 the prospects of the Allies seemed to brighten. First, Palmerston's reforms were beginning to have their effect. Second, in February Sardinia declared war against Russia. She had no direct interest in the events which had led to the war but, as the next chapter will show, was anxious to gain the favour of Britain and France. Her 20,000 troops, fresh and well-equipped, were a welcome addition to the Allied forces. Third, in March Czar Nicholas died. His successor, Alexander II, was disposed towards peace, and negotiations were soon opened. But, as Russia refused to consent to the permanent withdrawal of her men-o'-war from the Black Sea, the negotiations were broken off and the war continued.

During the summer, the attacks against *Sebastopol* were renewed but without much result. In September a final attempt was made. Two forts, the Redan and the Malakoff, were especially the objects of the operation. The British attack on the former was a failure, but the French seized the Malakoff. The British plan to reopen the attack next day was not necessary because, during the night following the French success, the Russians evacuated Sebastopol though not without first burning as much of it as they

could and in other ways rendering it untenable as a fortress. This virtually ended the war, and peace negotiations were reopened almost immediately.

Peace of Paris, 1856.

In March a Peace Conference was held in Paris and there the treaty was signed. Its chief terms were as follows :

1. The Black Sea was to be neutralized, only merchant-ships being allowed to pass through the Dardanelles or the Bosphorus.
2. Moldavia and Wallachia were no longer to be under Russian protection but became independent States under Turkish suzerainty.
3. Russia gave up her claim to be the sole protector of the Christian subjects of Turkey, and Turkey promised to give to those subjects equal rights with Mohammedans.

There has always been sharp division of opinion about whether the Crimean War was necessary. Many people held the view at the time that a firmer attitude adopted by the British Government, combined with more skilful and patient negotiations, would have prevented its out-break. Whatever may have been the truth of this view, there can be no doubt that the bungling fashion in which the war was conducted was without excuse and that the terms of the Treaty were altogether inadequate to the cost in lives, suffering and money which had been entailed. Not one of its clauses lasted beyond the time when one or other of its signatories judged that his interest would be served in breaking it. The two Danubian States as early as 1858 chose the same ruler and so became virtually united, being known as Roumania, and in 1878 the Congress of Berlin recognized the new united State. After the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 Russia began to build a fleet on the Black Sea in order to protect herself against

attack, and Britain could see no alternative to acquiescing in that action. Turkey's promise of generous treatment to her Christian subjects was broken from the outset ; indeed, their lot grew steadily worse, and this helped to cause the Balkan Wars of the last quarter of the century. The fruitlessness of the sufferings borne in the war is what justifies the anagram, whose origin is accredited to John Bright, that "CRIMEA" means "A CRIME".

5. THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN, 1878

Bulgarian Atrocities, 1876.

We have seen that in 1829 the Greeks secured their independence of Turkey. In 1830 the Serbs also, whose first revolt had been earlier than that of the Greeks, obtained from Turkey a formal recognition of their independence. The formation of a united Roumania was recognized by Turkey in 1861, though the State remained nominally subject to Turkey. These events made Turkey fear that the rest of her European subjects would revolt. To prevent this, she used every method of suppression. Crushingly heavy taxes were imposed, and the poor who were unable to pay were subjected to cruel torture and to the despoiling of crops and homes. Alongside this, there was continual persecution of Christians by Mohammedans. Such conditions produced unrest and occasional outbreaks.

In 1876 a slight rising occurred in Bulgaria. The Turks, scared of the spread of revolution, determined to make an example of the Bulgars and to stamp out the revolt. With indescribable horrors they wreaked their vengeance upon the Bulgars. Whole villages were wiped out, their inhabitants, irrespective of age or sex, being treated with brutalities worse than barbarous and then being butchered. These inhuman crimes have become known as the "Bulgarian Atrocities". Europe in general, including Britain in particular, was profoundly moved. The mouthpiece of British indignation was Gladstone, who published a

pamphlet which made a slashing attack upon the Turks and demanded that they should be turned out of Bulgaria "bag and baggage". Curiously enough, Gladstone's declamations moved only a minority of the nation to advocate action against the Turks. Even his own party was divided. The attitude of the Prime Minister, Disraeli, was in the strict Palmerstonian tradition: any weakening of Turkey meant a corresponding strengthening of Russia, and this Great Britain could not afford to allow. The people became madly enthusiastic for war to prevent Russia's interfering alone. Disraeli had no intention of fighting if he could avoid it, but the popular support given to his policy enabled him to intervene effectively in Europe.

Russo-Turkish War, 1877.

The rest of Europe had shared Britain's difficulty in choosing between championing the Christian Bulgars and supporting their Mohammedan persecutors. The result was that the European Powers dallied with the problem until Russia, losing patience, herself declared war against Turkey. Thus was launched the Russo-Turkish War, and once more the Eastern Question was raised in an acute form. The final issue of the war could not be in doubt. The Turks resisted stubbornly and gallantly, but the Russians advanced until Adrianople was reached and Constantinople stood almost defenceless. But the movement of a British fleet to the east Mediterranean, and Parliament's voting of large supplies in the event of hostilities, warned Russia that Britain—who would be joined by the other Powers—would not tolerate a Russian occupation of the Turkish capital.

In January 1878, therefore, the Treaty of *San Stephano* was signed between Russia and Turkey. The Sultan recognized the independence of Serbia, Montenegro, Roumania, and of a greatly enlarged Bulgaria. The effect of these terms would have been to abolish the Turkish power from Europe and to have placed the newly-created States under

Russian influence. The worst fears about Russian ambitions seemed to be justified, and all the rest of Europe was seriously alarmed. Britain especially demanded a revision of the Treaty on the ground that its terms were a violation of the Treaty of Paris of 1856 and therefore that all the signatories of the latter must be consulted. Russia at first refused to accept European intervention, but the sending of a British fleet to the Dardanelles and the preparation of British troops to follow, brought her to a more reasonable frame of mind. Consequently, a Congress of the Powers met at Berlin in 1878. At that Congress Great Britain was represented by Lords Beaconsfield and Salisbury. The former was the most notable member present, and the policy of Britain was the most influential factor in determining the actual terms of the Treaty.

Treaty of Berlin, 1878.

The most important of those terms were the following:

1. Bulgaria, as defined at San Stephano, was to be divided into three parts of which Eastern Rumelia was to be ruled by a Christian Governor but was to remain within the Turkish Empire; Macedonia was to remain a wholly Turkish possession; while the rest of Bulgaria was to be self-governing, though nominally under Turkey.
2. Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro were to become independent.
3. Bosnia and Herzegovina were to be administered by Austria.
4. Britain was to receive Cyprus.

Beaconsfield and Salisbury received a wildly enthusiastic welcome when they returned to London. A great European war against Russia had been averted, Russian designs in the Balkans had been completely frustrated, and the greater part of the Balkans had been freed from Turkish oppression. Beaconsfield expressed the commonly accepted opinion

about their achievement by declaring that they had brought back " Peace with honour ".

The passage of time soon showed that the enthusiasm for the Treaty was mostly misplaced. The leaving of Macedonia in Turkish hands led to untold sufferings of Macedonian Christians. The division of Bulgaria was an artificial arrangement which suggested that its authors had learned very little from the mistakes of the Congress of 1815 : such a division violated the spirit of nationalism and could not endure, as was proved when the Turks in 1885 were expelled from Eastern Rumelia which was joined to Bulgaria. Most disastrous of all the clauses of the Treaty was the placing of Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austria. Those countries were populated largely by Serbs who were thus separated from their kinsfolk of Serbia and of Montenegro. This settlement was intended to counter-act the influence of Russia in the Balkans. Actually it tended to have the opposite effect. The Serbs, like the Russians, were Slavs ; hence the Serbs that were under Austria sought to obtain their liberation by drawing together all the Slavs of the Balkans under Russian encouragement and even under Russian protection. This racial movement of the Slavs was one of the prime causes of the war of 1914.

Lord Salisbury himself gradually realized the error of contemporary judgment about the Treaty, and only a few years later he admitted that at Berlin Britain had " backed the wrong horse ".

CHAPTER XVII

ITALY; UNITED STATES OF AMERICA; CHINA

THIS chapter is to deal with three movements abroad, in each of which Britain had some direct or indirect concern, namely the Unification of Italy, the American Civil War, and the events leading to the Boxer Rising in China.

1. UNIFICATION OF ITALY

Condition of Italy after 1815.

No country in Europe, except perhaps Spain, has such clearly defined geographical boundaries as those of Italy; yet, of all the great Continental States, Italy was the last to secure a united, central government. Until the latter half of the nineteenth century the country was divided into a number of States, varying in size and in method of government, and politically as independent of one another as was, say, France from Britain. In Italy, as elsewhere in Europe during the nineteenth century, the spirit of Nationalism was at work, giving to the peoples of the various States a sense of common nationality and a desire to express that nationality by membership of one common State. Napoleon Bonaparte had given a marked impetus to Italian nationalism when he created a State which he called the "Kingdom of Italy". This acted as an

object-lesson to the peoples of the peninsula and kindled among them a desire to make such a kingdom permanent. Though the Congress of Vienna in 1815 restored the former rulers and granted Lombardy and Venetia to Austria, thus reversing Napoleon's policy, the ideal of Italian unity grew stronger as the century wore on.

The path towards unity was beset with many difficulties. First and chief was the problem of leadership: none of the States was so much greater than any of the others, either in past tradition or in present power, as to be recognized as the obvious leader of all; further, if all the States were merged into one, then the rulers of the "merged" States would either have to retire or would be deposed, and they therefore were bitter opponents of the whole movement. Second, the achievement of unity would necessitate the expulsion of Austria from Lombardy and Venetia; and even if all the other Italian States were first joined together they would not be strong enough to expel Austria without foreign aid. The third problem, therefore, was to secure the good will of the rest of Europe: that the neighbouring countries would welcome a strong, united Italy was by no means certain, and their attitude was likely to be further complicated by the Pope's opposition to any scheme which would involve the end of the independent Papal States stretching across the centre of the peninsula.

1848 Revolution.

The spirit of Italian unity was kept alive chiefly by Joseph Mazzini (1805–1872) who in 1831 founded a society called *Young Italy*. Its members, who had to be not more than forty years of age, devoted themselves to educating Italians everywhere in the ideas of liberty and unity. Young Italy thus provided the motive-power for the succession of efforts which gradually produced a united nation. The first of those efforts was made in 1848. The March Revolution in Vienna encouraged the Italians to

seize the moment to expel the Austrians from Lombardy and Venetia. The people of Milan rose, Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, led Piedmontese troops to the support of Lombardy, and in Rome a republic was declared, its leaders being Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi; but lack of support both within Italy and abroad led to successive defeats of Charles Albert and to the collapse of the Roman Republic.

Following the defeats of 1849, Charles Albert of Sardinia abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel II who was destined to become the first King of a united Italy. In 1852, Victor Emmanuel called Count Cavour to be his Prime Minister, and Cavour provided the statesmanship which turned the aspirations of patriots into practical politics. His aim was a united Italy led by Piedmont. He set himself to win the good will of the other European States, particularly of France and Britain. This was the sole reason for his sending a strong contingent of troops to help those two countries against Russia in the Crimean War. At the close of the war, Cavour attended the Peace Conference at Paris and made a deep impression upon the other representatives.

War of Italian Liberation, 1859–1860.

Cavour's chief concern was with Napoleon III. In 1858, Napoleon agreed to help Piedmont against Austria on condition that Lombardy and Venetia should be added to Piedmont and that Savoy and Nice should be granted to France. In 1859 war broke out between Piedmont and Austria, and Napoleon led an army into Italy. The campaign was short and sharp. Milan fell and all Lombardy was soon in the allies' hands, while Venetia was waiting to be overrun. The prize was about to be grasped when suddenly the stunning news came that France had made peace with Austria. The truth was that Napoleon had no desire to have a strong Italy as his neighbour. He deemed it better, therefore, to stop before too late. The

terms of peace ceded Lombardy to Piedmont but allowed Austria to keep Venetia. Cavour was bitterly incensed against Napoleon, yet dared not offend him, and Savoy and Nice were handed over to France according to the agreement. Meanwhile Tuscany, Modena, Parma and part of the Papal States had voluntarily joined Piedmont, and in April 1860 the first Parliament of the new State assembled at Turin. Thus was laid the foundation of a truly united Italy.

The oppressions of the Neapolitan kings provoked the Sicilians to revolt in April 1860. Garibaldi set out to support the rising. Early in May he left Genoa with about a thousand volunteers—*The Thousand*—who were his personal followers, and landed in Sicily. The Garibaldians, whose ranks were rapidly increased by volunteers, were masters of Sicily in a fortnight, and in August they crossed to the mainland. Everywhere they were received joyously by the inhabitants, and Francis II withdrew from the capital, which Garibaldi entered in September.

Naples, including Sicily, and the Papal States other than Rome joined themselves to Piedmont, and in February 1861 the first Italian Parliament was opened at Turin. In the events leading to this union, Great Britain, through Lord Palmerston the Prime Minister and Lord John Russell the Foreign Secretary, had played a decisive part. At the moment when Garibaldi appeared ready to advance against Rome, Napoleon would certainly have intervened had not Britain made clear that she favoured Italian liberation and would not allow interference with the fulfilment of the Italians' wishes. The two British Ministers have always been recognized in Italy as among the makers of the country's unity.

Venetia and Rome.

Two areas remained outside the Italian State, namely, Venetia and Rome.

When war threatened between Austria and Prussia in

1866, Victor Emmanuel tried to gain his end by offering help to Austria on condition that Venetia was given to Italy. This offer was indignantly refused, but Victor succeeded in making similar terms with Prussia. At the conclusion of the brief war, though the Italians had done little except lose battles, Prussia kept her promise and Venetia was added to Italy.

The next opportunity was presented by the Franco-Prussian War of 1870. During that campaign France was so hard pressed that she was compelled to gather together all her available soldiers. This involved withdrawing the garrison from Rome. Thereupon Victor Emmanuel, risking the consequences, attacked the city. No real resistance was offered by the Papal troops, and a plebiscite (that is, a free vote by the inhabitants) left no doubt that the people desired to belong to Italy. On 2nd June 1871, Victor Emmanuel at last entered Rome which thus became indeed the capital of Italy.

One problem remained. Pope Pius IX withdrew to his palace, the Vatican, which he refused to leave, thus making himself voluntarily a prisoner rather than enter upon what he claimed should be Papal territory. Every subsequent Pope followed his example until Pope Pius XI who in 1929 concluded with the Italian Government the Lateran Treaty which compensated the Papacy in cash for losses sustained in 1870 and also created a separate Papal State wherein the Pope was to enjoy sovereign rights. At last the long struggle was over and the unification of Italy was complete.

2. AMERICAN CIVIL WAR, 1861–1865

Causes of the War.

The Garibaldian movement of 1859–1860 was hardly at an end in Italy when civil war broke out on the other side of the Atlantic. Since 1783, when Great Britain had been compelled to recognize the independence of her

North American colonies, the United States of America had developed enormously. This expansion brought complications into the life of the nation. In particular it emphasized a deep division between the northern and the southern States of the Union : whereas the north was predominantly industrial and farming, the south was covered with great sugar and cotton plantations cultivated by slaves. Industry and immigration caused the population of the north to increase much more rapidly than that of the south, so that by the middle of the nineteenth century, out of a total population of 30,000,000, less than one-third lived in the south. This was reflected in the House of Representatives where the number of members allotted to each state of the Union was proportional to the population of that state. The south therefore grew increasingly jealous of the north and this jealousy seemed to have some justification in the legislation which the Federal Congress was passing, especially in the steady rise of tariffs levied upon imported manufactured goods. High protective tariffs were intended to raise the prices of imported goods and so to encourage American manufactures ; but such encouragement of manufactures would benefit only the north, whereas the south, which had no manufacturing industries, would have to pay higher prices for the manufactured articles which it bought. Consequently the south accused the north of using its preponderant representation in order to secure legislation that subordinated the interests of the south to those of the north. So serious was the ill-feeling, that among the southern States there grew up a desire for separation from the Union. This wish for separation was the root issue in the Civil War.

Immediate Cause.

The immediate cause which raised the issue of "North against South" in an acute form was slavery. In the northern States slavery was forbidden, and the majority

of northerners, who regarded slavery as a blemish on the whole nation, would have liked to abolish the practice throughout the Union. The question was brought to a head by the Presidential Election of 1860 when Abraham Lincoln was elected and proved to be not only the greatest President that the United States has ever had but the greatest democratic leader of modern times. He was a man of humble birth and of gaunt, unattractive appearance. But the sound Puritan stock from which he sprang expressed itself in an unselfish sincerity of purpose which nothing could deflect and in strong oratory which could move masses of men to follow where he led. The South feared that Lincoln's election as President presaged a determined attempt to abolish slavery. In order to forestall the attack, by February 1861, the seven states of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana and Texas had seceded from the Union and had organized themselves into the "Confederate States of America" with Richmond in Virginia as their capital. Lincoln, refusing to allow that any state had the right to break from the Union, called for an army to maintain the integrity of the nation, and civil war became inevitable.

The root cause of the war was thus the question of whether any individual State had the right of secession from the Union; the immediate cause was the slavery issue. As the war proceeded, the latter cause more and more overshadowed the former in the public mind both in America and in Europe.

The War.

The details of the campaigns are not our present concern. We may summarize by saying that during the opening stages all the advantages rested with the South, but that, in spite of early uncertainties and jealousies, Lincoln's dauntless faith and vision won through; the Northern navy gradually wore away the resources of the South; and by 1864 the North had discovered in General Grant a

commander equal to the occasion. Also, Lincoln declared that from 1st January 1863 slavery was to be abolished; henceforward the South was identified with the cause of slavery and so lost much of the sympathy abroad which hitherto had been at its disposal. In the early part of 1865 the Southern armies were encircled and compelled to capitulate. On 14th April, five days after the end of hostilities, Abraham Lincoln was shot dead by a fanatic.

The "Trent", 1861.

The attitude of Great Britain towards the American Civil War was somewhat complex. The aristocracy favoured the South because they regarded the plantation-owners as belonging to the same class as themselves; indeed, during the opening months of the war, much pressure was brought upon the British Government to declare in favour of the South. On the other hand, the masses of the workers favoured the North, partly because the bulk of the British emigrants to America had settled in the North and partly because they disliked slavery as being derogatory to labour. Both sides in the war tried to induce Britain to intervene. But Palmerston and his Ministry maintained throughout an attitude of formal neutrality. Two maritime events threatened to embroil Britain, in both instances against the North.

In November 1861 the South sent two envoys to represent its views at the courts of Britain and France, and to try to secure help. The two agents made first for Havana, a neutral port, where they were picked up by a British mail vessel, the *Trent*. A Northern warship, having news of the move, intercepted the *Trent* and carried off the two agents as prisoners. This flagrant breach of British neutrality produced a storm of wrathful indignation throughout Britain and added emphasis to the demand of the gentry for intervention on the side of the South. A sharp note was sent to Lincoln, and, so profoundly was the country moved, that the slightest obstinacy

on his part would have led Britain straight into the war on the side of the South. This would have meant the defeat of the North and the permanence of slavery in the South. Fortunately Lincoln realized the seriousness of the position and took the wise course of releasing the two agents and of apologizing for the insult to the British flag.

The "Alabama", 1862.

If Britain was right in the case of the *Trent*, she was just as clearly wrong in the second incident which was associated with another ship, the *Alabama*. This was an armed cruiser built at Birkenhead in 1862 for the Southern Government. The North, through its ambassador in London, warned the British Government of the purpose for which the ship was being built, and begged that action should be taken to prevent its sailing. The Government, however, failed to act until the vessel was nearly complete. On the day that the *Alabama* was to go for a trial trip, the Government sent orders to seize her. But the orders arrived three hours after she had set out, and the "trial trip" was found to be a pretence: she sailed out to open sea, picked up a commander and crew, and proceeded to do the work for which she was designed. The *Alabama* seemed to lead a charmed life. She wrought havoc among Northern shipping, yet she eluded all efforts to capture her. Her building and release for one of the belligerents was a clear breach of British neutrality, and Lincoln sent demands for compensation for all the damage which she did. As time passed, Lincoln's claims mounted higher and higher until they reached the total of £7,000,000.

The British Government, while admitting liability, contested Lincoln's figures, and the wretched controversy continued for years after the war was over. All the time the relationship between Britain and the United States was growing more and more embittered. When Gladstone became Prime Minister in 1870 he determined to bring the matter to a settlement. With great difficulty he per-

suaded both the United States Government and his fellow-Ministers to submit the dispute to the judgment of an independent tribunal whose award should be accepted by both parties. The tribunal, consisting of five persons, nominated by Great Britain, the United States of America, Brazil, Italy and Switzerland respectively, met at Geneva in the summer of 1872, and in September it published its award. This, in brief, assessed the damages to be paid by Great Britain at £3,250,000. Though the country in general was deeply chagrined at the award and its amount, Gladstone honourably accepted it, and thus ended the cause of friction between the two nations. More important even than that, the incident provides the first example in modern history of two great nations submitting a quarrel to arbitration. That the Court sat at Geneva, makes it all the more pointed as a foreshadowing of the League of Nations.

Cotton Famine.

The most serious immediate effect of the American Civil War upon Britain was the shortage of cotton in Lancashire which then depended entirely upon the plantations of the Southern states for the raw material for its factories. Partly because the planters were too busily engaged in the war to raise the usual crop, and partly because the Northern ships blockaded the Southern ports, the supply of raw cotton failed almost entirely. The cotton-mills were consequently brought to a standstill, and many thousands of the workpeople were reduced to starvation. The quiet heroism of the British workpeople never showed to greater advantage than during this anxious period: they regarded their sufferings as part of the price to be paid for the emancipation of the Southern slaves and they bore their lot with an uncomplaining fortitude which won the admiration of all. Everything possible was done for their relief. Funds were opened and were liberally subscribed to: generous contributions came from Americans wh:c

recognized the suffering which their quarrel was causing. Relief works, such as road-making, were started in various parts of the country, and arrangements were made to transfer workers from Lancashire to wherever they could be employed. Most important of all, from 1863 onwards raw cotton began to be brought from other parts of the world, such as India and Egypt, so that the wheels of Lancashire could be set in motion once more. Thus one indirect effect of the war was to widen permanently the sources of Lancashire's raw materials and so to raise up permanent rivals to the plantations of the Southern states.

3. BRITAIN AND CHINA

Early Conditions in China.

The story of the relations between the western Powers (including Britain) and China is one of the most unpleasant that modern history has to relate. Briefly, the Powers, for their own immediate profit, forced their trade, particularly a trade in opium, upon an unwilling China; when later China tried to exclude the drug, her resistance was used by the Powers as an excuse to wring concessions from her. The struggle reached a climax in the Boxer Rising of 1900. These events brought China in touch with the West, and hence arose a desire to adopt western methods of government, the result being upheavals in China herself. Such is a summary of the "Far Eastern Question", so far as China has been concerned. We have now to follow the main stages of that story in a little more detail.

Even down to the early nineteenth century the Chinese refused to have any dealings with the outside world. The only port through which trade might be conducted with foreigners was Canton, and even there all transactions had to be conducted through an officially recognized body called the *Hong* who fixed prices and the other conditions of trade. The widening of the means of communications

during the nineteenth century and the rivalry of Europeans for fresh markets, made the isolation of any one people almost impossible. Even so, the Chinese did their utmost to repel the earliest advances of the West. For example, in 1816 the British Government sent Lord Amherst to try to open official diplomatic relations with the Emperor of China ; but the Chinese, regarding all foreigners as inferior barbarians, insisted that Lord Amherst should do obeisance in the form of the "kow-tow". Amherst refused and was obliged to leave the country rapidly.

Opium Trade and Wars.

The first penetration of Chinese isolation was the result of the trade in opium. Opium is the product of a poppy which, until the nineteenth century, was grown almost exclusively in India, whence it had been introduced into China long before the period that concerns us. The practice of consuming opium, either internally or for smoking, has deplorable physical and mental effects upon its addicts ; and, though large numbers of Chinese acquired the opium habit, it was frowned upon by the better class of the population, and by the Government. In 1796 an edict forbade the import of opium into China. But the demands for the drug by those who had become addicted to its use, and the anxiety of traders to maintain their profits, were so great that much opium continued to be smuggled into the country. The production of the poppy in India gave to the English East India Company something like a monopoly of this trade. But in 1833, when the East India Company's charter was due for renewal, the Company lost its trading monopoly, the result being that the opium trade fell largely into the hands of private traders who were much less scrupulous about smuggling the drug than even the East India Company had been. After 1833, therefore, there was a great increase in the amount of opium imported into China. So alarmed did the Chinese authorities become at the effect which the spreading use

of opium was having upon the people, that they determined to carry out the edict of suppression.

In 1839 a special commissioner was sent to Canton where 20,000 chests of opium were seized and either burned or pitched into the sea. Though the Chinese were within their rights in suppressing the illicit traffic, the manner of doing so was high-handed and likely to cause more trouble than it cured. Irrespective of the rights and wrongs of the case, Palmerston, who was then Foreign Secretary, determined to support the British traders. A British fleet was despatched to Chinese waters in 1840, and several Chinese ports were bombarded and taken. By the *Treaty of Nanking* of 1842, the Chinese agreed to treat British officials as the equals of Chinese, to pay an indemnity of £6,000,000 to cover the losses involved by Britain and her nationals, to cede the island of Hong Kong to Britain, and to open the ports of Amoy, Foochow, Ningpo and Shanghai to foreign trade on the same terms as at Canton. No mention was made of the opium trade. This was but the first step in a process of opening-up China. Other nations quickly followed the British lead and forced from the unwilling Chinese Government concessions similar to those which had been acquired by Britain.

The next occasion on which the British Government was directly concerned with China was in 1857, Palmerston again being Foreign Secretary. A coasting-schooner called the *Arrow* was believed by the Chinese authorities to have a pirate aboard. They therefore sent a war-vessel to seize the crew, who were all Chinese. At the moment of seizure, the vessel, for her own purposes, was flying the British flag, and the British consul at Canton therefore protested against the "insult" to that flag. He was supported first by the British Plenipotentiary at Hong Kong and then by Palmerston. The British claim was quite illogical, but was exactly suited to Palmerston's style. Hostilities broke out locally, and the Chinese, not discriminating nicely between one foreigner and another, carried out savage re-

prisals, against both British and French. A British army was sent out, and British and French fleets sailed as far as Tientsin. The *Treaty of Tientsin* was agreed to in June 1858, the terms being that a British Minister should be established permanently at Pekin and a Chinese Minister in London, and more Chinese ports were to be opened for trade. Next year, when the British Minister arrived at Pekin, the Chinese refused to ratify the Treaty or even to receive him. In 1860 a powerful force of British and French fleet and armies was sent to compel the ratification. European envoys sent forward to carry out the negotiations were treacherously seized by the Chinese, some of them being murdered and others imprisoned. Troops were then despatched to Pekin itself where the great royal Summer Palace, with its vast treasures, was destroyed. The Chinese then submitted. They ratified the Treaty of Tientsin, opened Tientsin as a port for trade, and paid a heavy indemnity to defray the costs of the expedition.

Anti-Foreign Agitation.

For the moment, the Europeans had been successful. They had opened up avenues for trade with China whose teeming millions seemed to offer limitless markets for western goods. But though Europeans could impose their will by force upon China, they could not thus compel the friendship of the Chinese people. Indeed, the more that western ideas and inventions were introduced, the more resentment and fear did the Chinese feel. This opposition was due to more than blind prejudice. To the Chinese mind, the world was full of malicious dragons which, if disturbed by such contrivances as railways and steamships, would bring havoc among the people. The reaction of westernizing methods upon the Chinese was aptly illustrated in 1876 when a British company erected a railway 15 miles long to the north of Shanghai: the Government bought the railway, and then hurled it into the river. Gradually the more enlightened leaders, seeing the material

advantages of railways and telegraphs, allowed these and other innovations to be erected; reforms were instituted in the army so as to bring it into line with western models; a system of education was planned, and Chinese students began to attend European and American universities where they became familiar with the methods of government, thought and civilization of the West.

Yet these reforms failed to win the approval of the people as a whole. The masses remained horrified at the westernization of their country, and the fear spread that one day the land would be visited with disaster. A secret society, calling itself the "Sacred Harmony Fists"—a title abbreviated by Europeans into "Boxers"—was formed to expel the foreigner forcibly from China. This antipathy was encouraged by the Dowager-Empress. Like all the rulers of China for three centuries, she belonged to an alien race. In 1644 the Manchus, who were Tartars, had overcome the reigning dynasty in Pekin and had begun to rule in its stead. Though the existing, age-long civilization of China was unmoved by the change of dynasty, the conquerors imposed certain marks of supremacy upon their subjects, notably the pig-tail which the Chinese were hence-forward compelled to wear and which they always regarded as a sign of subservience. Some of the Manchu Emperors were men of extraordinary personal power and enlighten-ment, but during the eighteenth century the line had deteriorated. In 1850 an anti-Manchu rebellion broke out, the rebels being called *Taipings*. During several years the Taipings had much success, and in 1853 they massacred Tartars to the number of 25,000. During the following years China seemed to be on the verge of dissolution. In 1861 the effete Emperor died and the rule then fell into the hands of his very capable widow, the Dowager-Empress. She raised a corps of foreign troops to suppress the Taipings. Major Charles *Gordon* [1] was the leader of the corps, and in a campaign of wonderful successes, he defeated

[1] Chapter XVIII, Section 3.

the rebels and won fame for himself as " Chinese Gordon ". This was the Dowager-Empress who, having suppressed the rebels from within China, set herself to exclude the interlopers from without. Her encouragement was largely responsible for the " Boxer Rising " against the white foreigners.

Boxer Rising, 1900.

The movement came to a head in 1900. The season was one of exceptional drought, the crops were threatened with failure, and the peasants were consequently faced with ruin. Processions to pray for rain were organized, and these began to take the form of demonstrations against the foreigners whose gods were blamed for the drought. There is no difficulty in understanding how such circumstances provided an ideal opportunity for the propaganda of the Boxers. Soon, open attacks were being made upon foreigners wherever they were found. The local authorities, when asked for protection, were slow to give it because, as has since become known, they had received hints to the contrary from the Empress. The Imperial troops did nothing to suppress the movement. Altogether some 250 Europeans were murdered as well as, it is believed, some 30,000 native Christians. Many of the Europeans who managed to escape did so only after terrible persecution and privations. In June the German ambassador was murdered in Pekin. This compelled the Powers to take active measures. A united expedition was sent. Pekin was taken, the white people who had sought refuge there were relieved, and severe terms of peace were imposed upon the Chinese Government. An enormous indemnity was inflicted, and China undertook to suppress all anti-foreign societies.

Twentieth-Century China.

The opening years of the twentieth century were marked by the rapid permeation of western modes of thought and

civilization into China. This process affected directly only the richer classes whose sons were sent in increasing numbers to universities abroad. These young men returned to their own people imbued with all the literary and scientific knowledge which the West had to offer them and imbued especially with the political ideas of democratic government as they saw it at work. So powerful did these ideas prove that in 1907 even the Dowager-Empress felt compelled to announce that a Constitution, including a Ministry and a Parliament, would be granted as soon as the educational progress of the people made it advisable. The Empress died in 1908, but nothing was done to carry out the promise of self-government. In 1911 popular insurrections began to break out. The movement soon became widespread, and a rebel Government, with a representative convention, was established in Nanking, the old capital of China. In 1912 the boy Emperor abdicated, and a republic was established. Thus ended the Manchu dynasty, and one of the first acts of the people was to cut off their pig-tails as a sign of freedom from Tartar domination. Unfortunately for China, and for the world, no government that has succeeded the Manchus has been able to command the obedience of all the Empire or to ensure peace or good order within its borders. Now and again some strong politician or general has seemed to be on the point of asserting his sway and establishing a stable government, but one after another they have fallen. Into the details of the Chinese wars we need not enter, but we do well to note that while chaos prevails among a people numbering one-quarter of the total population of the world, there is little promise of well-being for the rest of mankind.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE PARTITION OF AFRICA

1. THE OPENING-UP OF AFRICA

'The Dark Continent.

FEW features of the late nineteenth century were to be so important for succeeding generations as the exploration of the interior of Africa. A map of that Continent as it was known to Europeans in the early part of the century is almost a blank. In the north, Egypt was under a Turkish Viceroy, and the Sultan of Turkey was also the nominal ruler of Tripoli, Tunis and Algeria. Morocco had its own independent Sultan. Along the west coast some of the European Powers had small and scattered possessions: the French were round the mouth of the Senegal River; the British held posts in Sierra Leone and along the Gold Coast; Portuguese stations lay along the coast of Lower Guinea near the mouth of the Congo and also around Delagoa Bay on the east coast opposite Madagascar. These were not colonies but only trading depots, and they constituted a mere coastal fringe. The only European nations owning land that extended beyond such a fringe were the French who, between 1830 and 1845 approximately, had carried out the annexation of Algiers; and the British, who owned Cape Colony. The prevailing ignorance about Africa was strikingly illustrated by the fact that, though the lower waters of the Nile had been

familiar to Europeans from the dawn of history, no European ever penetrated to the source of the Nile until the middle of the nineteenth century. Africa was indeed a mysterious and "dark" continent.

Then, in the latter part of the century, two factors combined to give an impetus to the opening-up of Africa: one was the exploration of the centre of the continent, and the other was the contemporary industrial development in Europe.

Exploration.

Attempts to solve the riddle of central Africa began almost before the nineteenth century dawned. *Mungo Park*, in 1795 and again in 1805, explored the Niger: striking the river from Gambia, he sailed down it, gleaning, as he did so, much information about the country through which he passed, particularly about the area round Timbuctoo. Other expeditions similarly explored special areas —for example, one from Tripoli worked on to Lake Chad —but central Africa as a whole remained unknown until the second half of the century.

Then the Royal Geographical Society sent out an expedition under *Burton* and *Speke* to discover the source of the White Nile (the source of the Blue Nile had been found by James Bruce, who struck it from Abyssinia in 1769). In 1857 they found Lake Tanganyika. There the two explorers parted company, and in 1858 Speke discovered Victoria Nyanza, thus at last solving the problem of the Nile. In 1864 *Sir Samuel Baker* discovered another lake which he named Albert Nyanza and which he found to be another source of the Nile.

Such discoveries, great as they were, were small by the side of the comprehensive journeys undertaken by *David Livingstone* (1813–1873). Livingstone had been a poor boy who at the age of ten had been sent to work in a cotton-factory in his native town of Blantyre, Lanarkshire. By a combination of genius and perseverance, he qualified as

a physician and surgeon. His ambition was to be a medical missionary, and in 1840 he was sent out by the London Missionary Society to Bechuanaland. His first explorations were along the upper waters of the Zambesi. Between 1852 and 1856 he made wonderful journeys from the centre of Africa. First he went westwards across the river Kwango, thus striking the coast at Loanda; then returning to the Zambesi, he followed the river downwards, past the Victoria Falls—which never before had been seen by a white man—and so down to the sea at Kilimani. He had thus crossed and re-crossed Africa from the Congo to the Zambesi. In 1856 he returned to England, broke his connection with the London Missionary Society, and in 1858 was sent out at the head of a Government expedition to work up the Zambesi. Until 1864 he remained, exploring a vast area. The two chief effects of this second expedition were Livingstone's discovery of Lake Nyassa and his laying bare the hideous facts of the slave trade which still was carried on in that part of the continent. In 1865 Livingstone left England for the third, and last, time. With Tanganyika as his headquarters, he wandered in the surrounding area, making observations and maps, and sending home information about the Arab slavers whom he encountered. The climate and the prodigious journeyings told their tale upon his health. In 1867 news of him ceased, and, as the weeks and months passed, the British people became deeply concerned for his safety. At last the *New York Herald* financed an expedition to trace him. *H. M. Stanley* was placed in command, and in 1871 Stanley met Livingstone on Tanganyika. Livingstone, however, refused to return home, and in 1872 Stanley sadly left him in Africa. By this time Livingstone was physically a broken man, and in 1873 he died. As a pioneer explorer David Livingstone remains unrivalled: he opened up vast tracts of central Africa with no other man's experience to guide him, and his observations were of the highest scientific value. Though he ceased to be a missionary in the nar-

rower sense of the term, he travelled always in the hope that his tracks would open the way for the Christianizing of Africa; and the information which he gained was certainly instrumental in the abolition of the African slave-trade.

After Livingstone's death, Stanley was sent out at the head of an expedition. The Congo was the centre of his work, and there he was impressed above all by the boundless possibilities of the continent as a source of raw materials —particularly rubber, palm-oil, and ivory—for European manufactures. On his return to England he wrote a book (1878), *Through Darkest Africa*, which explained these views. Stanley's work was the starting-point for the "scramble for Africa" which characterized the late nineteenth century.

"Scramble for Africa".

While this pioneering work was being done in Africa, the more progressive nations of Europe were undergoing a process which turned their attention to the newly explored territories. Previous to the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, Europe had been largely dependent upon Britain for manufactured goods, particularly for textiles and hardware. During the years of comparative peace which followed Waterloo, the larger Continental nations began gradually to manufacture for their own needs. In short, they went through an "industrial revolution" similar to that which Britain had experienced during the previous century, and with similar results: their increasing population, crowded together in towns, needed colonies abroad in which to overflow, and their manufactures needed cheap and plentiful supplies of raw material. These needs were becoming intense by the latter half of the century, and the discovery at that very period of unappropriated tracts of Africa, where rubber and oil were abundant and where other materials could be produced at will, seemed to be providential. Moreover, Europe realized that Africa was the only large area in the world not appropriated by

civilized races, and to secure a share of that area immediately was therefore imperative. Consequently, during the closing years of the nineteenth century, and the opening years of the twentieth, there was a "scramble for Africa" resulting in mutual jealousies and, as we shall see, sometimes in wars. In this "scramble" Britain took her share, notably in the development of Rhodesia [1] and in expansion southward from Egypt.[2]

Curiously enough, Europe as a whole was slow at first to appreciate the significance of the African explorations. The first man to see the possibilities was Leopold II, King of the Belgians, who established the "International Association of the Congo". In 1879 Leopold engaged Stanley to supervise the development of a large area of the Congo basin, and valuable products in abundant quantities were soon being exported to Europe. Almost immediately, Portugal, France and Germany began to stake out claims in Africa. Disputes about boundaries arose in all directions, and possibilities of war seemed rife. To prevent hostilities, a Conference of the Powers met at Berlin in 1884. First, the Conference put the Congo under the control of the "Congo Association", which was nominally an international organization for commercial objects only, its head being Leopold II. The latter used his influence with the Association to exploit the Congo, with the most unscrupulous disregard for the international character of his organization and without the slightest care for the humanity of the African natives: in short, Leopold became the ruler of the Congo, and finally he made it over to the Belgian Government. Second, the Berlin Conference settled the respective "spheres of influence" in Africa of the other Powers, as a result of which, before the end of the century, the whole of the continent was partitioned out much as the present-day map shows, except that Germany then had colonies which she lost after the 1914–1919 War.

[1] Chapter XIV, Section 3. [2] Sections 2 and 3 below

2. EGYPT, 1863–1882

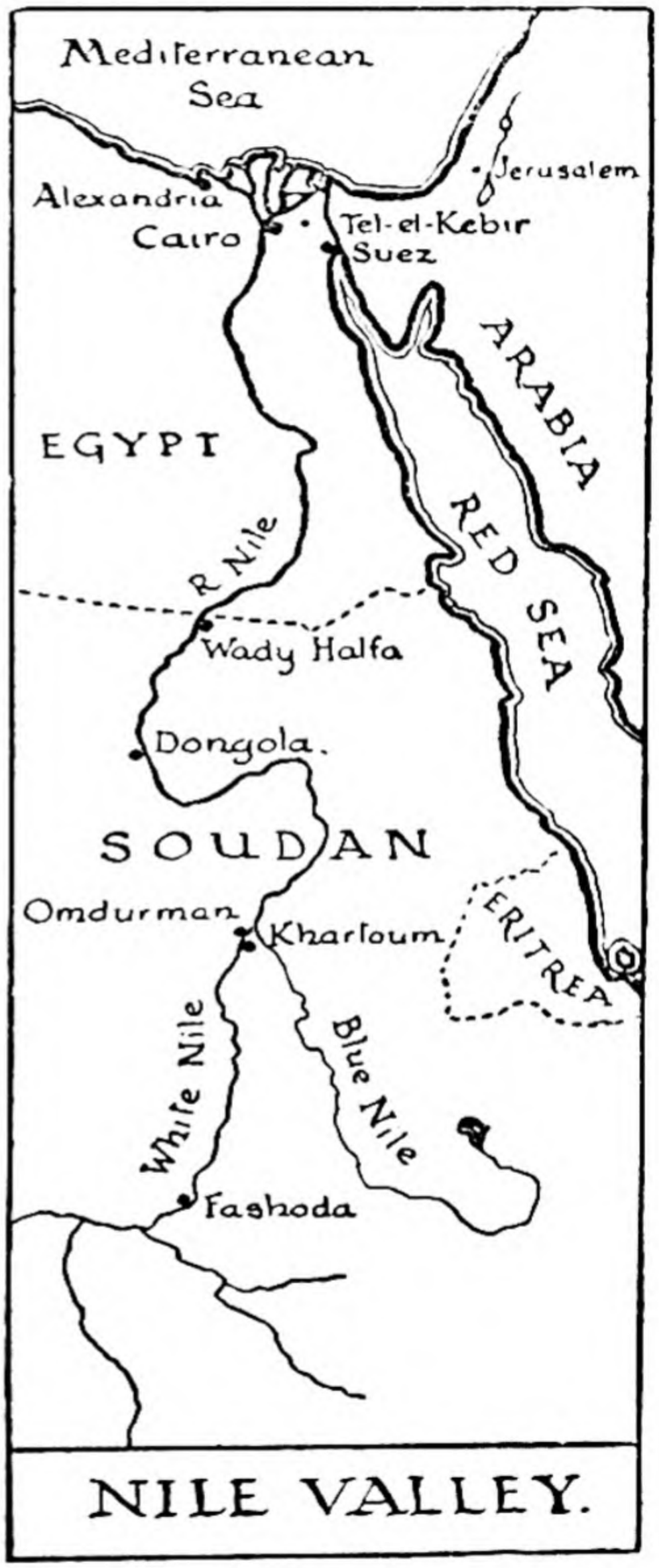
We have now to see the part Britain played in the African scramble. Already we have watched her development northward from the Cape. At the other extreme she spread southward from Egypt, and in order to understand her position there we have to return to Mehemet Ali,[1] the Sultan of Turkey's troublesome Viceroy in Egypt. By the Treaty of London (1840) Mehemet had been recognized as the hereditary Pasha of Egypt and thus had become the founder of a dynasty, though he remained nominally subject to the Porte. Mehemet died in 1849.

Ismail Pasha and the Dual Control.

The next ruler of consequence for our purpose was his grandson Ismail Pasha who became ruler in 1863. In many respects Ismail was an alert and enlightened man. He was anxious to develop the economic resources of Egypt and to apply western scientific knowledge for that purpose. He erected public buildings, reorganized the customs system, encouraged railways and telegraphs, promoted the sugar industry, and bought a large number of shares in the Suez Canal Company. Several attempts, from ancient times onwards, had been made to dig a canal at Suez, but all alike failed until the eminent French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps, planned the work afresh and actually began operations in 1856. The Canal was finally opened for traffic in November 1869. Ismail's schemes were evidence of genuine public spirit, and after a period of years they would probably justify themselves by adding to the public revenue. But unfortunately the existing resources of Egypt were not sufficient to produce the capital necessary for their execution. Ismail had therefore been obliged to borrow heavily from European financiers—chiefly British and French—and, of course, to pay interest on their loans. Nor was this the worst. Ismail induced the Sultan to grant

[1] Chapter XVI, Section 3.

him the more dignified title of "Khedive". For this concession he had to pay the Sultan, and also, in order to maintain his new dignity, he increased the pomp of his Court and indulged in personal luxuries out of all proportion to his ability to pay for them. This reckless extravagance also could be met only by loans raised on the security of the Egyptian taxes. The simple fact was that Ismail had no sense of the value of money and no appreciation of the financial complications which his vast borrowings would produce. By 1874 he had piled up a debt of £100,000,000, and even Ismail had to face the resulting situation. In 1875 he tried to avoid a crisis by selling his Canal shares, of which Disraeli bought £4,000,000 worth for Britain. Even this failed to stave off the crash, and in 1876 he was compelled to repudiate all his State debts, in other words to declare Egypt bankrupt.



NILE VALLEY.

The British and the French Governments took immediate measures to safeguard the rights of their subjects whose capital was endangered by Ismail's default. Two commissioners, one French and the other British, were appointed to guide the financial administration of Egyptian

finances, the interest payable to European bondholders being the first charge on the Government's revenue. Thus was instituted the régime known as the "Dual Control" of Egypt. Ismail soon grew restive under the restrictions which the arrangement placed upon him, and, as a result of the friction that ensued, in 1879 Britain and France induced the Sultan to secure Ismail's abdication. His successor was his son Tewfik who, realizing the cause of his father's downfall, allowed a free hand to the Dual Control. The British representative was Captain Evelyn Baring, afterwards Lord Cromer, who proved to be the regenerator of modern Egypt.

Arabi Pasha, 1881–1882.

The virtual government of the country by Europeans produced an anti-foreign reaction among the Egyptian people. While this movement was working to a head, the Egyptian army was growing restive because of bad conditions and arrears of pay, and in 1881 a certain colonel named Arabi led a mutiny against Tewfik, who, apparently, was regarded as allowing money to go abroad instead of paying his own army. In these circumstances, the mutiny, which had had purely military causes, became identified with the anti-foreign sentiment. Soon Egypt was being swept by a great nationalist movement having Arabi and the army at its head. Tewfik, unable to cope with the rising, tried a policy of compromise: he formed a new government with Arabi as War Minister, hoping thus to quieten him and perhaps to buy off his opposition. The scheme failed in its object. Arabi, having the army behind him, became the real controller of the Government.

So menacing did the situation appear to the lives of the Europeans in Egypt, that in May 1882 a combined British and French fleet was sent to Alexandria. This move further enraged the Egyptians, and in June there was a popular outbreak in which some 200 Europeans were killed, of whom fifty were murdered in Alexandria. Neither the

Sultan nor Tewfik was in a position to suppress the disorder, and no alternative remained to action by the fleets. Just previously there had been a change of Government in France, and the new French Government, not wishing to embroil itself in Eastern affairs, abstained from taking further steps. The British Government, under Gladstone, was thus left with the full responsibility of intervention in Egypt. Reluctantly the British fleet bombarded the fortifications, which Arabi had erected at Alexandria, and destroyed them.

Matters could not be left in this uncertain state, so a powerful expedition was sent out under Sir Garnet Wolseley. As soon as he had landed in Egypt, Wolseley directed operations against Arabi whose forces were utterly crushed at Tel-el-Kebir in September 1882. Arabi was exiled to Ceylon, Tewfik's authority was reasserted, and an army of occupation was left in Egypt to ensure the restoration of order. There seemed every reason to believe that the root cause of the trouble had been removed and that time would do the rest. The avowed policy of the British Government was to withdraw its army from Egypt at the earliest possible moment. In 1884, Baring—now Sir Evelyn—was appointed Consul-General in Egypt. Under his influence the country underwent a marvellous transformation. Good order was maintained, irrigation works and railways were promoted, the system of land-holding was improved, and taxation-methods were reorganized. As time passed, the welfare of Egypt was seen to depend so entirely upon British administration that, in spite of herself, Britain seemed to have no option to remaining in the country.

3. THE SOUDAN, 1883–1898

The Mahdi.

While events were progressing thus favourably in Egypt, trouble was brewing not far distant. The southern boun-

dary of Egypt was a line drawn east and west at Wady-Halfa. The country beyond that line, called the Soudan, was a Turkish province subject to the Egyptian Khedive. The Egyptians, lacking efficient civil servants, had never made a success of their government in the Soudan. In 1876, Ismail had appointed Charles Gordon, who fifteen years previously had helped to suppress the Taiping rebellion in China,[1] as Governor of the Soudan. Gordon was able to do something towards restoring order and organizing sound government; but as soon as he left the Soudan in 1879, misgovernment and oppression were renewed.

Matters then took a more serious turn. In 1881 an Arab of the Soudan declared himself to be the Mahdi, that is, an expected Mohammedan prophet, and forthwith he became the leader of a fanatical crusade against the Anglo-Egyptian government of the province. The Khedive had no army adequate to deal with the rising. In 1883, he sent an English officer, Colonel Hicks—known in Egypt as Hicks Pasha—into the Soudan with what forces could be mustered. The only result was that Hicks and his men were met by overwhelming numbers of the Mahdists and annihilated. Evidently only a large, well-equipped army could cope with the rebellion. But Egypt did not possess such an army, and to raise one would put upon the country's finances a strain which they would not bear.

The position of Britain was difficult in the extreme. Her occupation of Egypt was of a temporary character only, and she had not the slightest wish to extend her responsibility into the Soudan. Yet unless the Mahdists were suppressed, the religious disaffection against the foreigner might spread into Egypt. Moreover, scattered about the Soudan were Egyptian garrisons, some of them under British officers who had retired from the British army; and unless these garrisons were either reinforced or evacuated they would be overwhelmed and massacred. The London Press began to demand that the garrisons should be with-

[1] Chapter XVII, Section 3.

drawn, and Gordon was suggested as the man to superintend the operation. At last, though reluctantly, Gladstone yielded to the clamour, and in January 1884 Gordon was sent out to the Soudan.

Gordon at Khartoum.

No more unfortunate choice could have been made. That Gordon was a brave and noble man is universally acknowledged. His previous career had shown him to be also an efficient administrator and a man possessing a rare gift for winning the confidence of easterners. Yet, along with these characteristics, Gordon combined a rash obstinacy which nothing could turn, and no one who really knew him could imagine his tamely arranging for the withdrawal of troops in face of the enemy. Baring, for example, strongly opposed Gordon's appointment from the beginning. However, for good or ill Gordon was sent out. His instructions were perfectly explicit: he was to go to Khartoum and from that centre was to organize the evacuation of the Egyptian garrisons and of the European civilians from the Soudan, and to these conditions he agreed.

Gordon reached Khartoum in the middle of February 1884. Contact with those whom he had left only five years previously seems to have kindled in him a determination not to abandon the country to the Mahdists but to remain there and to restore the order and well-being which had lapsed since his previous rule. To abandon the Soudan to the Mahdists seemed to Gordon a wanton surrender to the Infidel: he was, indeed, as fanatically Christian as his enemies were fanatically Mohammedan. He therefore sent home urgent and repeated demands for reinforcements to enable him to "smash the Mahdi". This attitude was in direct contradiction to the policy he had been sent to carry out. Both Baring and the Home Government, puzzled by the new turn of events, took no action for some time. Meanwhile Gordon's position became more and more precarious: by the beginning of June he was isolated in

Khartoum, and the surrounding country was swarming with fanatical Mahdists. Gladstone felt that an attempt was being made to force him into a policy of permanent occupation of the Soudan, a policy with which he did not agree and which was the reverse of that which he had stipulated when Gordon was sent out. But as the weeks and months passed, uneasiness in Britain became acute. By the end of July, opinion in the nation, and in the Cabinet itself, compelled Gladstone to agree to the despatch of a relief force to Khartoum.

Lord Wolseley was placed in command of the expedition. He left Britain at the end of August, and by the beginning of October was setting out up the Nile from Cairo with his expeditionary force. The difficulties of moving an army up the Nile proved to be enormous, and progress was slow. In December an advance-guard of 2,000 men was sent ahead. The leading detatchment arrived at Khartoum on 28th January, 1885, only to find that the Mahdists were in possession of the place and that Gordon had been dead two days.

Apart from the effect in Egypt and in the Soudan of the failure to relieve Khartoum, the personal loss of Gordon and his men was a sad tragedy. The stories of Gordon's unflinching heroism and of his death while defending himself, his sword in one hand and his Bible in the other, made an immediate appeal to the British public. A general howl of execration went up against Gladstone who was commonly regarded as little better than Gordon's murderer. Gordon's death was the last misfortune that Gladstone's second ministry had to sustain—its previous misfortunes included the failure in Ireland and the disaster at Majuba Hill—and in June 1885 Gladstone had to resign office. In justice to the Prime Minister, two facts should be remembered: first, responsibility for the fall of Khartoum must rest with Gordon alone, since, in spite of repeated instructions from home, he chose to reverse the policy which he had undertaken to carry out; second, notwithstanding

enormous provocation, Gladstone never made any attempt to pass on the blame to the heroic though unfortunate Gordon. The real blame resting upon the home Government was for the initial mistake of choosing a man of Gordon's temperament to carry out the evacuation.

For the moment only one policy seemed possible in the Soudan, namely, complete withdrawal. By the middle of 1885 the British force was withdrawn, and for the next dozen years the Soudan was left to the mercies of the Mahdists.

Soudan Reconquered, 1896–1898.

Meanwhile Sir Evelyn Baring—who was created Lord Cromer in 1892—was continuing his work of reorganizing Egypt. Good order and an honest, efficient financial system made prosperity possible, a condition further encouraged by vast irrigation works and by other works for the promotion of trade. Though the country was nominally ruled by the Khedive, in practice it was a British Protectorate. In 1890 Sir Herbert Kitchener was appointed Sirdar—that is, Commander-in-chief—of the Egyptian army which in his hands was moulded into an efficient fighting instrument.

A strong government of a prosperous country with a competent army at its disposal was not likely to remain content with a disorderly province like the Soudan on its borders. Apart from any question of ambition, there was always the possibility of Mahdist attacks over the frontier into Egypt. Accordingly, in 1896 the reconquest of the Soudan was decided upon. Kitchener set about the task with characteristic thoroughness. Advancing southwards up the Nile from Wady-Halfa, he built a railway as he went, thus facilitating transport and maintaining easy communications with his base of operations. Dongola marked the first stage of the project. Having secured his position thus far, he continued to push on into the heart of the Mahdist country. As Khartoum was approached,

the Mahdists concentrated for a final resistance. The decisive battle took place at *Omdurman* in September 1898. The Mahdists fought with desperate gallantry, but nothing that they could do would avail against discipline and scientific equipment. Khartoum was entered, and a memorial service was held on the spot where Gordon had perished. Kitchener was rewarded with a peerage. The Government of the Soudan was vested in Great Britain and Egypt jointly, and similar measures of reform were instituted there as had been carried out in Egypt and with similarly successful results.

Fashoda.

In order to secure his position in Khartoum, Kitchener continued his advance up the Nile. Great was his astonishment to learn that the French flag was flying at Fashoda, nearly 400 miles southward. To understand the position, we have to return to the first section of this chapter where we saw that the Conference of Berlin in 1884 had assigned to the various European Powers their respective "spheres of influence" in Africa. On the basis of that partition, France had acquired a vast area in the north-west of Africa. She was nevertheless extremely jealous of British expansion in Egypt, all the more so because at the time of Arabi's rebellion France had voluntarily withdrawn from her share in the responsibility—and therefore in the Government of Egypt. Hence, in order to check the British advance up the Nile valley and to stake out a further claim for themselves, the French had sent a Captain Marchand from their territory on the Congo, up the river Ubangi, and so on to the Nile. This was the expedition which in 1898 Kitchener found at Fashoda.

Kitchener, claiming the Nile valley as a British sphere of influence, politely but firmly requested the French to withdraw. Marchand refused to comply and, had Kitchener been a rash or small-minded man, a clash would have occurred and been followed by open war between Britain

and France. Actually both commanders agreed to refer the matter to their respective Governments. Long and bitter negotiations followed. Finally the French agreed to withdraw from Fashoda ; they further agreed to recognize the whole Nile valley as a British " sphere of influence ", while Britain on her part recognized the French empire in West Africa.

Egypt, 1898–1923.

The British, who had " provisionally " occupied Egypt in 1882, were still in practical control of the country when the Great War broke out in 1914. Lord Kitchener was then British Agent and Consul-General. All this time Egypt had been nominally a Turkish province ; but, as Turkey became one of Britain's enemies in 1914, Egypt was then formally declared to be separated from Turkey and to be a British Protectorate, and an independent Sultan of Egypt was proclaimed. Events in Egypt during the War do not concern us at this point. Suffice it to say that the Turks made strenuous efforts to recover their province, particularly by attacks on the zone around the Suez Canal. All their attacks proved to be in vain, and Britain remained in command of Egypt when the War ended.

After the War, there was a widespread nationalist movement in Egypt, and serious disorder occurred. General Allenby, the British High Commissioner, restored order but recommended that the demands of the nationalists should be granted. In 1922, therefore, the British Government proclaimed that the British Protectorate was at an end and that Egypt was an independent State, though provision was made for the security of British communications through the Canal. In 1923 a Constitution was proclaimed making Egypt a constitutional, hereditary monarchy.

CHAPTER XIX

THE GREAT WAR, 1914–1918

1. EVENTS LEADING TO WAR

THE transition from the partition of Africa, as related in the previous chapter, to the events leading to the outbreak of war in 1914 is a natural one, inasmuch as the crises which helped to embitter national feelings prior to the War arose over disputes in northern Africa. Before we are in a position to understand those crises we must pick up the threads of general European politics which we left at the Congress of Berlin of 1878.[1]

Triple Alliance, 1882.

The object of that Congress had been to enforce a revision of the Treaty of San Stephano which Russia had imposed upon Turkey after the 1877 war, and so to check the growing influence of Russia in the Balkans. The modification of the San Stephano terms, and the decisions made at Berlin, had been due to a combined German and Austrian opposition to Russia. Such a combination was a new feature in European politics. Bismarck's great aim had been to drive Austria out of Germany, an aim which he had achieved in 1866 at the point of the sword,[2] but after the establishment of the German Empire with Prussia at its head in 1871, Bismarck could afford to be generous. Recognizing that the new Germany had more to fear from a growing Russia

[1] Chapter XVI, Section 5. [2] Chapter XV, Section 2.

EUROPE
1914.
GERMAN EMPIRE
BOUNDARY
Petrograd
Moscow
NORWAY
SWEDEN
RUSSIA
UNITED KINGDOM
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
Heligoland (Germ.)
Tannenberg
GERMAN EMPIRE
POLAND.
HOLLAND
Ypres
Amiens
Paris
LUXEMBURG
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
ROUMANIA
BLACK SEA
SWITZERLAND
Caporetto
Serajevo
BOSNIA
SERBIA
BULGARIA
Adrianople
Constantinople
FRANCE
ITALY
MONTENEGRO
ALBANIA
GREECE
Salonica
Gallipoli
Dardanelles
TURKEY
CORSICA (Fr.)
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
SARDINIA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
SICILY
Crete
Cyprus
Algeciras
Gibraltar
Algiers
Malta
ALGERIA
TUNIS
Suez
MORROCCO (Fr. Protectorate)
EGYPT
TRIPOLI

than from a declining Austria, he took steps, as soon as the Congress of Berlin was over, to make permanent the friendship then begun. In 1879, therefore, an alliance was arranged between Germany and Austria, its main object being to oppose the expansion of Russia. Three years later Italy joined the two allies. The reason for her adherence was that in 1881 she and France had quarrelled over Tunis which Italy coveted but which France, by an adroit stroke of diplomacy, had secured first. Hence Italy, in a fit of pique against France, made a treaty with Germany and Austria. The terms of the treaty were defensive only, that is to say, the signatories undertook to give support to any member who had to defend himself against the attack of another Power, but they were under no obligation to support a member if he was the aggressor in a quarrel. Thus in 1882 was formed the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria and Italy. Hitherto Italy had been the bitter enemy of Austria owing to the latter's opposition to Italian unity; and this new alliance, which was the outcome of a passing resentment against France, had every appearance of being unnatural and superficial. Only time could test its durability.

One of the critical questions for the future of Europe was what use the Triple Alliance would make of its enormous influence. The answer to this question began to appear when in 1888 *William II*, at twenty-nine years of age, became Kaiser of Germany. The outstanding feature of his character was egotism of the worst and most dangerous type. One of his habits, embarrassing both to his own ministers and to the rest of Europe, was that of delivering flamboyant speeches in which he dilated upon the destiny of Germany and the part he was divinely called to play in it. Yet behind these outbursts there was no real strength, or even stability, of character capable of carrying out high purposes.

From the outset of his reign it was clear that there could not be room in Germany for this vigorous young Kaiser

and for the aged Chancellor Bismarck. At the end of two years Bismarck felt his position to be untenable, and in 1890 he resigned office. Henceforward William II was left without restraint. Lacking the essential qualities of statesmanship, he relied upon what he called "the mailed fist" as the method of establishing German prestige. In this spirit he acquired colonies, and enormously strengthened his navy in order to protect them and to safeguard German commerce. More sinister than German power in itself was the volcanic nature of the Kaiser, for no one could foresee in what direction his next eruption would take place or what use he would make of his power. This uncertainty produced throughout Europe a vague fear, which impelled Europe to arm itself against attack from some quarter impossible to predict.

Entente.

The menace from Germany and its Kaiser emphasized the isolation of Russia in the east and of France in the west. These two Powers therefore tended to draw together, and in 1891 they signed an agreement which in 1894 was made more definite and binding. This also was a defensive alliance for mutual protection against other Powers.

To what extent this arrangement would give to France security against a German attack seemed doubtful; and as the strength of Germany was growing every year, French politicians became more and more concerned to strengthen their alliances. In 1898 Delcassé became the Foreign Minister of France. He proved to be a statesman of the highest quality, and he set himself the double object of improving the relations of his country with Italy and with Britain. During his period of power, which lasted until 1905, he achieved his aim. In 1902 an agreement was reached whereby France promised to give to Italy a free hand in Tripoli; in return Italy promised to leave France free in Morocco and to maintain a position of neutrality in any war in which France was a belligerent. Italy was thus

detached from the Triple Alliance, so far as France was concerned, and France was correspondingly strengthened.

In seeking the friendship of Britain, Delcassé had two factors in his favour. The first was the German navy, which for ten years had been growing both in size and in efficiency; and the only Power against whom such a navy could be intended was Britain. The second factor was the British King, Edward VII, who in 1901 had succeeded his mother, Queen Victoria. Edward VII was fond of France and popular with the French people, and a warmer relationship between the two nations began to manifest itself. In 1903 the French President and Delcassé visited London, and next year the *Entente Cordiale*—the "cordial understanding"—became a fact. Its basis was a mutual agreement about colonial affairs: Britain undertook not to interfere with French development in Morocco, and France recognized that Britain should have a free hand in Egypt. These terms show clearly that the Entente was not an alliance comparable to the others described above; it was not even a defensive alliance. Its importance was that it showed unmistakably that Britain's future lay with France (and therefore with Russia) and not with the Triple Alliance. If any doubt remained on this point it was dissolved in 1907, when Britain concluded a separate arrangement with Russia settling all matters in dispute concerning the interests of the two Powers in Asia.

Effect of the Alliances.

Thus, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente were ranged against each other (though the relationship of Italy to the other Powers was somewhat uncertain). In theory these two opposing leagues were the expression of a balance of power so adjusted as to maintain a peaceful equilibrium. But the practice differed from the theory. The mere existence of an alliance meant that a quarrel affecting one Power tended to become the concern also of the allies of that

Power. Hence, as any European dispute would almost certainly involve one or other of the six States mentioned, there was grave danger that any dispute would involve all of them. Moreover, though the Treaties of alliance were for particular and not for general objects, this was apt to be forgotten in the excitement of a crisis ; so also was the fact that the Entente between Britain and France was not an alliance at all but was an "understanding" about "spheres of influence". The effect of all Europe's being closely knit together, and of the consequent uncertainty about what might provoke war, was a general sense of insecurity such that, in spite of the absence of any widespread desire for war, every State felt compelled to arm itself against an unknown danger. The opening years of the twentieth century presented the spectacle—which would have been comic had not its effects been tragic—of all the countries arming themselves to the teeth against one another, while all alike were denying any intention to attack. They were carrying out the maxim : "If you wish for peace, prepare for war".

The effect of the growth in armies and armaments was calamitous : as Europe grew accustomed to their presence, so it grew accustomed to think of them as the natural means of settling international disputes, and the very existence of armaments was an incentive to their use. Europe was, in short, divided into two great armed camps which any chance event might provoke to conflict. Though the opening years of the century were years of peace, it was an "armed peace".

Hague Conferences, 1899, 1907.

To counteract the tendencies to war only one tentative effort was made. In 1898, Czar Nicholas II proposed that an international conference should meet to consider the question of disarmament. The result was the first Conference at the Hague, to which, in 1899, twenty-six Powers sent representatives. On the major question of disarma-

ment the Conference achieved nothing. It contented itself with recommending that nations should submit to a neutral tribunal any dispute "involving neither honour nor vital interests". But, as these were the very matters most likely to provoke war, such a resolution was in effect a confession that battles were the only way of settling questions of real consequence. The one result of permanent value which the Conference produced was the establishment of the Permanent Court of Arbitration to deal with such questions as might be submitted to its decisions. Hence there was a steady rise in the European expenditure upon military and naval forces.

The pressure of this burden led Nicholas II to convene a second Conference which, in 1907, also met at the Hague. This was a greater failure than its predecessor. Not only were the questions of disarmament and of compulsory submission of disputes to arbitration definitely shelved, but this second Conference did little besides trying to "humanize" the methods of warfare: for example, the bombing of unfortified towns was forbidden, and the treatment of neutrals and of prisoners of war was regulated. In other words, far from trying to prevent breaches of peace, the Conference merely laid down rules for the conduct of the next war.

Algeciras 1906, and Agadir 1911.

How near Europe was to the verge of war was illustrated by two crises which arose in the years just preceding 1914. Both the disputes arose over French relations in Morocco.

French influence in Morocco had been assured by the terms both of the French agreement with Italy in 1902 and of the Entente with Britain in 1904. Germany objected to being thus excluded, without even being consulted, from such a sphere of influence both political and commercial. In March 1905, Kaiser William II expressed his disapproval in a characteristically dramatic fashion: he went in his

yacht to Tangier and there delivered a speech declaring that Germany recognized the independence of Morocco, which ought to remain open for peaceful competition by all the nations. Germany next demanded an international conference to settle Moroccan affairs. The Conference met in April 1906 at Algeciras in Spain near Gibraltar, twelve States sending representatives. From the outset Germany found herself isolated in the discussions. The only Power of any consequence on which she could rely was Austria-Hungary. This position was accurately reflected in the final agreement: the independence of Morocco was guaranteed, her commerce was to be open to all nations, and she was to be policed by a Franco-Spanish force. France had gained a notable diplomatic victory; though she had not been allowed to annex Morocco, she had managed to exclude Germany altogether, and in practice the police-system became mainly French.

The next trouble arose through the chaotic condition of Morocco itself. In 1908 the Sultan had been deposed, but his successor was unable to make his power effective throughout the country. The result was grave disorder, and in 1911 the new Sultan asked France, whose Algerian territory touched his eastern frontier, to send an expedition to give him security in his capital, Fez. France acceded—not unwillingly—to the request, and, in doing so, gave notice to the Powers which had been signatories at Algeciras. Germany's reply was the despatch of the gunboat *Panther* to the Moroccan port of Agadir. Germany informed the Powers that this step was taken to protect her subjects there, though her real object seems to have been to hold Agadir as a basis of negotiations with France on the whole question of the French control of Morocco. Germany's action had brought Europe to the brink of war. In the negotiations which ensued, Britain strongly supported France. The result was that Morocco was recognized as a French sphere of influence, Germany being "compensated" by the cession of a considerable part of French

territory on the Congo. Though nominally a compromise, this agreement was in reality a further triumph for French diplomacy: Germany had again failed to oust the French from Morocco, and in the following year the Sultan agreed to his country's becoming a French Protectorate. Further, Germany's failure was due mainly to the support that France had received from Britain, so that, in addition to Franco-German relations being embittered, Germany's attitude towards Britain became more hostile than it had hitherto been.

In brief, not only did the two crises of 1906 and 1911 show the danger in which Europe stood, but the friction and suspicion caused between the Great Powers made the preservation of peace over the final issue in 1914 all the harder to maintain.

Balkan Wars, 1912 and 1913.

The immediate cause of the 1914 War was a quarrel between Austria and Serbia; that is, it was primarily a Balkan quarrel and hence was part of the "Eastern Question". To understand the situation we have therefore to return to the 1878 Congress of Berlin [1] when Near Eastern affairs received a general settlement, and whence Disraeli returned to England bringing back "Peace with Honour". Among the decisions of the Congress had been one which had left a reduced Bulgaria nominally under Turkish suzerainty, and another which had placed Bosnia and Herzegovina under the administration of Austria. These two provisions thwarted the national aspirations of the small countries concerned, and also gave to Austria the right to interfere in Balkan affairs. Consequently there was unrest within the Balkans and suspicion of Austria in the minds of the other European Powers. Both these results were intensified when, in October 1908, Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria, declaring the independence of his country, assumed the title of King, and when, two days

[1] Chapter XVI, Section 5.

later, Austria announced her annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. There can be no doubt that the two were concerted events, or that Ferdinand acted under the encouragement of Austria who was anxious to exclude Turkish—and Russian—influence from the Balkans.

In order to protect themselves and to secure their independence before further inroads were made upon them, the independent Balkan States drew together. Finally in 1912, Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro formed the Balkan League, its immediate object being the expulsion of the Turks from the Balkans. The war between the League and Turkey, which broke out in October 1912, consisted of a series of League victories astonishing alike for Europe as a whole, for Turkey and for the League itself. Within six weeks the Turkish power in Europe had collapsed, and the League forces were only 25 miles from Constantinople. By the end of April 1913 even the great fortress of Adrianople was in the League's hands, and Turkey was compelled to sue for peace. A Conference of the Powers met at London. Turkish territory in Europe was to consist henceforward of Constantinople and a small area to the west of that city, and all the territory which had formerly been Turkish went to the members of the Balkan League who, under the supervision of the Powers, were to divide it between themselves, though Albania was to remain an independent principality.

This last provision was due to Austria whose aim was to prevent Serbia from getting a coastline. Serbia, thwarted in the west, tried to get compensation by asking Bulgaria for a larger share of Macedonia than had been allotted to her. Bulgaria refused, quarrels resulted, and in June 1913 war broke out afresh. This time hostilities were between the Balkan States themselves, Bulgaria being the aggressor. Turkey seized the opportunity to make war on her own account and promptly captured Adrianople. Bulgaria, finding herself at war with five States, was compelled to make peace. In October 1913, the Treaty of

Bucharest was signed. The exact boundaries which it drew between the Balkan States do not concern us. The one fact of supreme importance for the future was that Serbia emerged with nearly twice her former area and with a seaboard at Salonica. This increased power of Serbia had a double effect. On the one hand, her added prestige renewed among the Serbs, and among their kindred throughout the Balkans, an enthusiasm for the formation of a "Greater Serbia", that is, for the comprehension of all the Serbs—including those of the Austrian dominions—in one large Serb State. On the other, Austria, apprehensive of this movement, decided that she must intervene to reduce the power of Serbia, before too late. The sinister aspect of the situation was that in any such attack the Serbs would be supported by their great Slav neighbour Russia. Germany, unwilling to watch the destruction of Austria by Russia, would almost certainly intervene, and thus most of Europe would be involved. This was, indeed, precisely what happened in the next year.

The Outbreak, 1914.

The uncertainties of the situation following the Treaty of Bucharest intensified the fears of Europe and therefore caused still more feverish preparations by every country including Britain. Britain concentrated upon naval superiority. Her first ship of the "Dreadnought" class had been launched in 1906. Since then a new class of Super-Dreadnoughts had been evolved, and she now laid down more ships and hurriedly mounted more and larger guns upon them. Such a heavily-charged atmosphere needed only the merest spark to produce a terrific explosion. That spark was struck in the Balkans.

On Sunday 28th June 1914 the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the Austrian throne, and his wife were assassinated in Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia, to which they were paying a State visit. The deed had been committed by a Bosnian political fanatic who was therefore

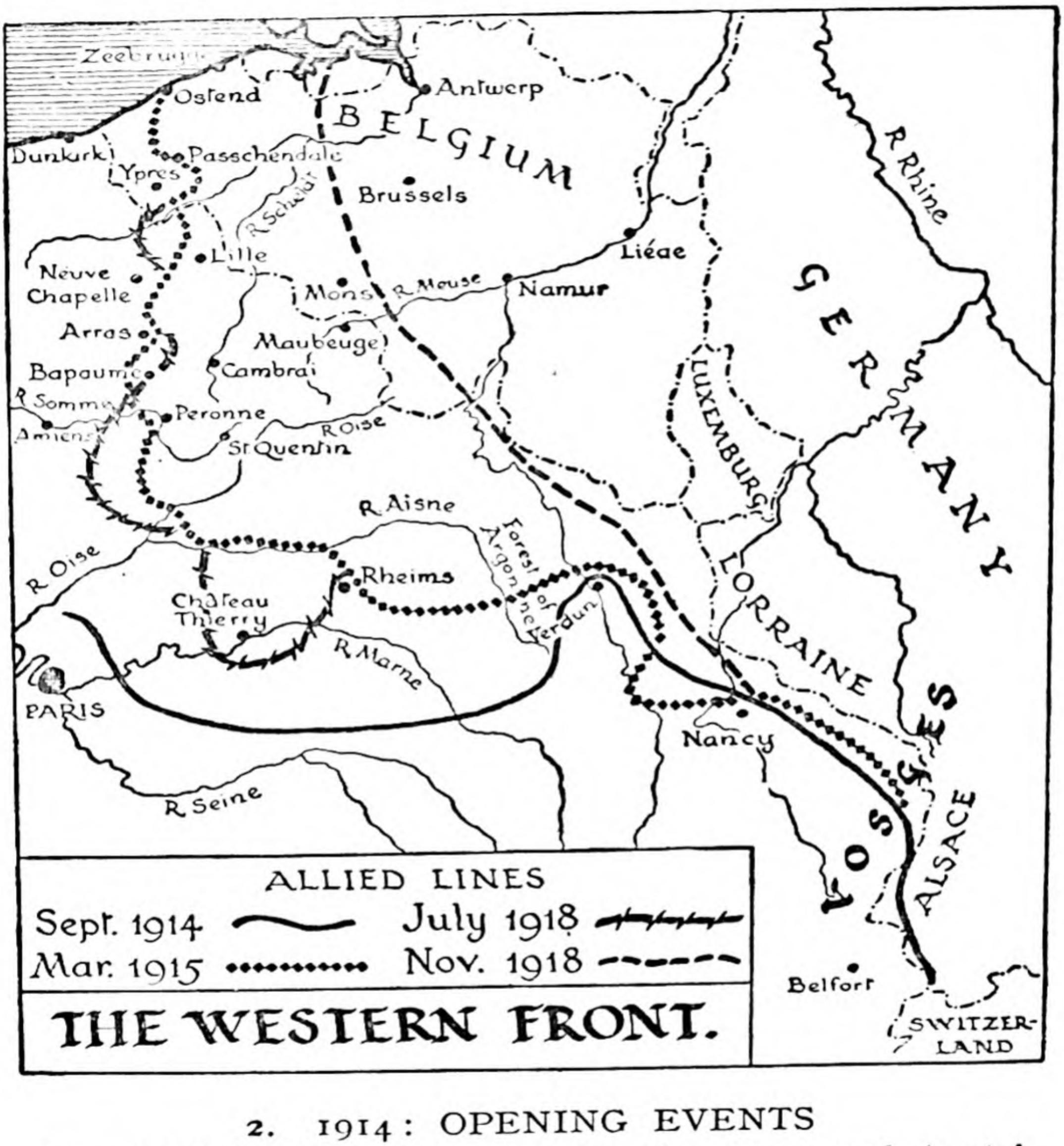
an Austrian subject. Austria, however, claimed that the plot had been hatched in Serbia, and on 23rd July she sent to Serbia an ultimatum demanding, first that Serbia should suppress all anti-Austrian propaganda; second, that all Serbian officials whom Austria named as obnoxious should be removed from office; third, that Austrian officials should be admitted into Serbian courts to investigate the crime of Seraievo. Only forty-eight hours were allowed for a reply. Serbia's answer went as far as any nation could go if it was to preserve its dignity and independence: she granted the first two demands and suggested that the third should be submitted to the Hague Tribunal or to a Conference of the Great Powers.

When Serbia's judicious reply became known, Germany urged that there appeared to be no cause for war. This attitude was strongly adopted by Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Minister, who did his utmost to induce Germany to persuade Austria to a more moderate policy. But Austria, gambling on the belief that in the last resort Germany would not let her go to war alone against Serbia (who would be backed by Russia), maintained her obstinate policy. On 28th July Austria declared war on Serbia. This first step was followed by the mobilization, in rapid succession, of the armies of Europe.

Meanwhile, Sir Edward Grey was doing his utmost to confine hostilities to the Balkans, and so to prevent the outbreak of a general European war. He urged that a European Conference should meet to decide the questions at issue. This Germany refused. Then on 31st July, he sent—as Gladstone had done in 1870—to both France and Germany asking for an assurance that Belgian neutrality, guaranteed in 1831,[1] would be respected. France immediately gave a definite promise, but Germany quibbled. This was for Britain the decisive issue. On 4th August Grey demanded from Germany an explicit pledge on the subject, but by two o'clock in the afternoon news reached him that

[1] Chapter XV, Section 4.

the Germans were already in Belgium. At midnight Britain declared war.



THE WESTERN FRONT.

2. 1914: OPENING EVENTS

The initial advantage was with Germany and Austria, whose central position would enable them to strike swiftly and hard at any point they chose. France, relying on the international character of Belgium's neutrality, had concentrated her main defences south of Belgium and around the great forts of Verdun, Toul and Nancy. The German High Command therefore decided to invade France through

Belgium. This decision had been taken long before 1914, and was the main reason for the large number of German railway lines running to the Belgian frontier. Germany's aim was a rapid push through Belgium so as to turn the left flank of the French and to leave the heart of France open to invasion. As soon as hostilities broke out, therefore, German troops under General von Kluck poured through Belgium in such numbers that the resistance even of such forts as Liége and Namur proved unavailing. Before August was out Brussels itself had been seized and the whole of Belgium overrun. A French counter-attack through Alsace-Lorraine was repulsed, and the only alternative was to offer what resistance was possible to the main German attack.

Mons and the Marne.

Meanwhile the mobilization of the British army was proceeding apace. On 6th August Lord Kitchener was appointed Minister for War, and he immediately set about the marshalling of existing armies—Regular and Territorial—and the recruiting of new ones. The first contingent of the Expeditionary Force embarked on 7th August, and within ten days the transportation of 70,000 troops, led by Sir John French, had been completed without loss. The British force, advancing from the coast, was placed on the left of the French line, its centre being at Mons. The British soon found themselves in extreme peril, for the French army, its line having been pierced, was compelled to retreat so that the British were isolated and were faced by overwhelming numbers of Germans. A general and swift retreat was inevitable. During the last week of August the British fell back with the enemy in hot pursuit. Though the losses sustained were heavy, the Force as a whole was saved, and at the Marne it was in touch once more with the French army under Joffre. At this juncture von Kluck made a mistake fatal to his success: believing that the British army had been incapaci-

tated, he neglected either to pursue that army or to seize the French Channel ports which were its base of operations. Instead he wheeled south-east so as to strike at the French centre, and actually reached to within a dozen miles of Paris. Then the French launched against him a large army of reserves. So sudden was the attack that the Germans were compelled to retreat and were unable to make a stand until they were at the Aisne some 50 miles from Paris.

Along that line the position developed into stalemate, the character of the War changing from one of movement in the open to one of immobility in trenches. Each side bent all its energies to dislodge its enemy but, though slight advantages were gained, now by one and now by the other, between the autumns of 1914 and 1918 the fronts continued almost stationary.

Ypres.

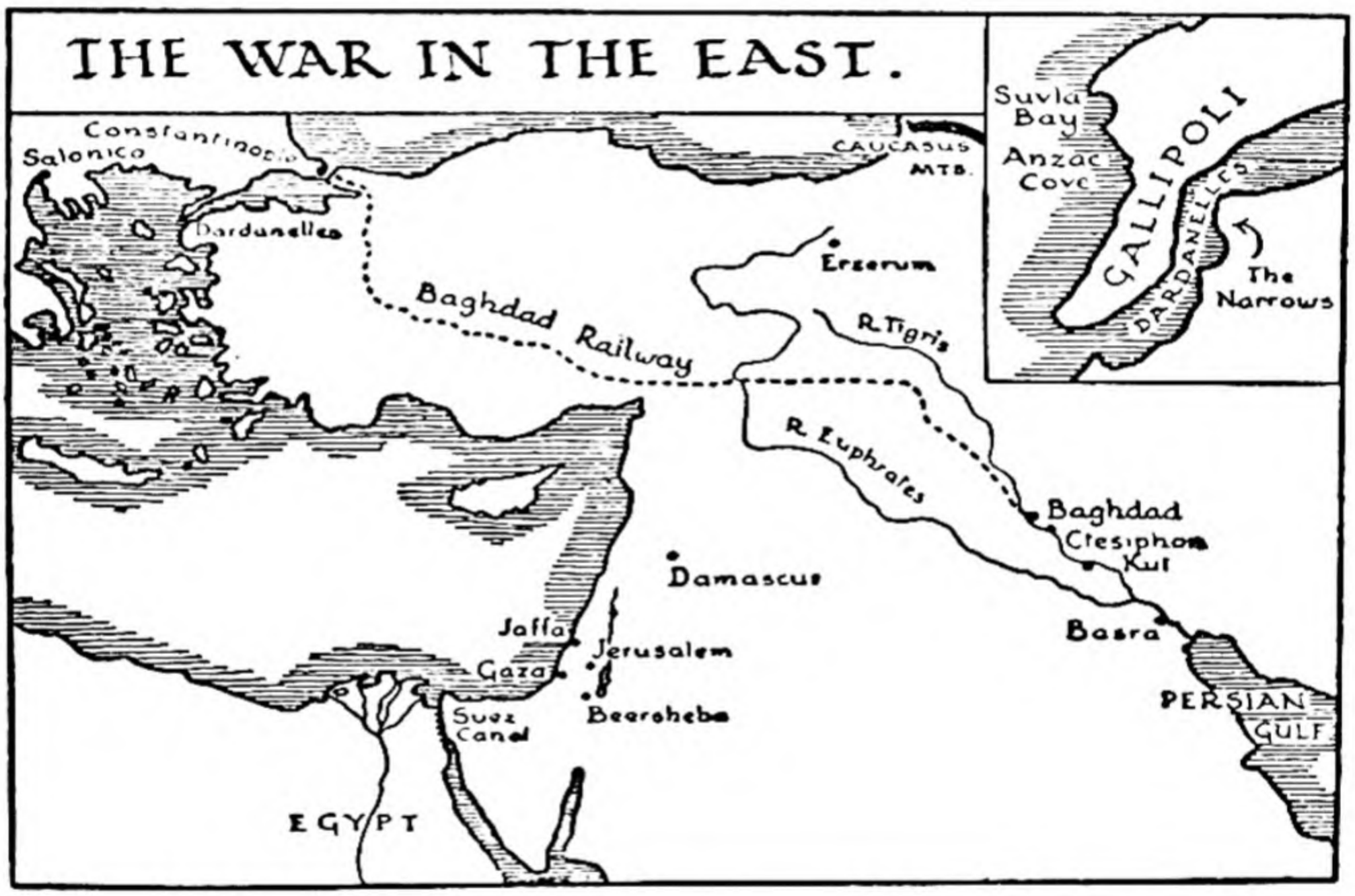
During the remainder of 1914 the chief activity in the west was due to the attempts of the Germans to retrieve their early blunder of not seizing the Channel ports. The German right wing was extended, and a "race for the sea" began. The British position on the left of the French army meant that the British chiefly had to sustain the shock of the German attack. Early in October Antwerp had to be abandoned, in spite of the support of the British Naval Division in the city's defence, and the struggle shifted farther south and centred around Ypres. At the end of three weeks, during which the British clung to their positions with desperate valour and at untold cost in lives and sufferings, the Germans desisted from their attack, and Ypres, though terribly bombarded, remained then and for the rest of the War in British hands. That ended the fighting before the winter fell. The winter was spent by the Germans in organizing the industrial and coal areas of Belgium and northern France which had fallen into their possession, and by the British in training new armies,

particularly those from her oversea dominions whence volunteers began to arrive in increasing numbers. When, therefore, operations were resumed in the spring of 1915, each side went into the conflict assured of its new strength, and the clash was correspondingly sharp.

3. 1915: EASTERN FRONTS

Russia.

One of the surprises of the opening stages of the War had been the rapidity of Russia's mobilization. Contrary



to expectation, the Russians had come into the War almost as soon as operations began in the west. During August the Grand Duke Nicholas made a vigorous attack on East Prussia, the Germans were driven back, and there seemed every likelihood of a successful advance on Berlin. But before August was out, the German General, Paul von Hindenburg, had checked the advance, had completely surrounded the Russians, and had captured 80,000 prisoners

with a great quantity of guns. The secret of Russia's initial success had been its unexpectedness. Now that the element of surprise had passed, she would cease to be a danger until the main body of her troops could be mobilized and supplied with arms.

In 1915 Germany, confident of her ability to hold the ground she had won in the west, determined to drive Russia out of the War so as to be able afterwards to concentrate on the west, and in May 1915 she began to launch her great counter-attack. During June the Germans recovered Galicia, thence they advanced into Poland, and by the autumn the whole of Russian Poland was in German hands. Russia was defenceless, but the memory of the fate of Russia's earlier invaders induced the victors to call a halt. The repulse of the Russians had demonstrated their woeful lack of organization and munitions—only a small proportion of the soldiers could be supplied with rifles, the others being armed with sticks—and it was the first step towards the complete collapse of Russia in 1917.

Gallipoli.

Meanwhile the War was being pursued in other eastern theatres, notably in the Dardanelles. Turkey had come into the War late in 1914. One of Germany's pet schemes had been the Baghdad Railway giving communication through Constantinople to the Persian Gulf, thus opening an easy route from Berlin to the East. On the other hand, the interests of Russia and of Turkey clashed in the Near East. The encouragement provided by the appearance of the German warships *Goeben* and *Breslau* before Constantinople was all that was needed to form Turkish resolution to take the decisive step. In November 1914 Russia declared war against Turkey, and Britain and France followed suit.

The Allies early recognized the value of the Dardanelles. To the Central Powers they provided an outlet which might counteract the British naval blockade in the West. To

the Entente they might provide a means of access to Russia whereby munitions could be carried to her armies; moreover, a command of the Dardanelles would almost certainly give control of Constantinople, the possession of which might be decisive in detaching Turkey from Germany and in securing the allegiance of the Balkan Powers to the Allies. During 1915, therefore, the Allies made two attempts to force the passage.

The first attack was a naval one only. In February a combined British and French fleet began to advance into the Dardanelles. The hopes of silencing the defenders by the heavy guns of modern men-o'-war proved illusory. The Turkish fortifications concealed along the shore had been built before the War under the direction of German experts. Still more serious, when the ships reached "The Narrows", the Turks sent down mines and discharged torpedoes from the shore. Three ships were sunk and the whole project was shown to be impossible of attainment. If the Straits were to be seized, a considerable body of troops would be needed to co-operate with the navy by attacking the fortifications of the Gallipoli Peninsula on the landward sides at the same time as the ships were moving along. This was the plan of the second attack. Unfortunately for its success, the first attempt had forewarned the Turks of the Allies' intention and given time to increase the defences with guns and barbed-wire.

Sir Ian Hamilton was in command. His force consisted of some 120,000 men among whom were Australian and New Zealand Divisions from Egypt. A landing was made in April. The troops advanced with the utmost bravery against Turkish fire, and won ground at most points but not sufficiently to give command of the Peninsula. A further delay occurred while reinforcements were brought up. In August a new offensive was launched. Suvla Bay was the centre of the operations. Once more the invaders failed to gain control of the Peninsula as a whole, and abandonment of the project was determined upon. The

evacuation was brilliantly carried out. Diverting actions attracted the enemy's attention from the vital spot, and in December the forces were embarked with almost no casualties at all.

The results of the campaign were plain. Russia remained unapproachable from the east, the Central Powers had secured a channel of communications eastward, and the Balkan States would be encouraged to enter the War against the Allies. These ill effects had cost the Allies 120,000 casualties.

Bulgaria joined the Central Powers in July. A concerted attack of Germans, Austrians and Bulgarians was made against Serbia, and by November the only land that the Allies held in the Balkans was a strip around Salonica to which most of the British troops from Gallipoli were transferred.

Mesopotamia.

Another sphere of operations indirectly affected by the Gallipoli failure was Mesopotamia. As early as November 1914 Indian troops had been landed at Basra on the Persian Gulf to safeguard an oil-base on which Britain drew to supply her fleet. In April 1915 a Turkish attack was driven off, and General Townshend decided to pursue the Turks up the Tigris. Without very great difficulty he entered Kut. The retreat of the Turks acted as a lure to the British. If Baghdad could be seized, the Allies would hold the terminus of the railway, and their prestige in the East would be greatly increased. Actually, the scheme was wild in the extreme: the British forces were far too few for such extended operations. Townshend, under orders from his superiors but against his own judgment, had to press on. Early in November he reached Ctesiphon, but by that time the British failure at Gallipoli had released Turkish forces who were brought down in a constant stream along the railway. The British were compelled to retreat, and in December they reached Kut to which the Turks

immediately laid siege. For nearly five months the siege continued. The little army maintained a gallant resistance both to the enemy and to hunger, and determined efforts were made to relieve it; but in April 1916 General Townshend and his entire remaining force of 8,000 surrendered.

The West.

In the West, 1915 had been spent in attacks and counter-attacks upon the strongly entrenched positions which each side had constructed. In March, the British attacked at Neuve Chapelle south-west of Lille. The Germans replied in April with an offensive against Ypres where they discharged the first gas-attack of the War. In May, the French attacked at Lens to the north of Arras. In all three of these battles the attackers gained some ground, but only at enormous cost in munitions and life, and the main position on each side was unchanged. These negative results went far to justify the arguments of a small group of politicians and strategists who believed that, as a decision by frontal attack in the West was impossible, the only alternative was an offensive in the East. This, indeed, was the real explanation of the efforts at Gallipoli and Mesopotamia. The failure of these efforts in the East turned the balance of opinion in favour of concentrating Allied resources upon beating the chief enemy, Germany, in her chief stronghold. Hence the main campaigns of 1916 were in the West.

In May a Ministry of Munitions was established in Britain —Mr. Lloyd George being its first chief—and almost at the same time the Cabinet was remodelled as a Coalition representing all the three political parties. In December conscription was introduced, and in the same month also Sir John French was replaced by Sir Douglas Haig as commander-in-chief of the British army in France, a position which he retained till the close of the War.

Two other events of 1915 need to be mentioned. First, in April, Italy joined the Allies, though her achievements

in the War—at least, in its earlier stages—were negligible. Second, in May, the *Lusitania* was sunk by a German submarine, further reference to which will be made in a later section of this chapter.

4. 1916: VERDUN AND THE SOMME

The West.

The immediate objective of the Germans on the West in 1916 was Verdun. They massed enormous numbers of troops for the attack, and carried out feint operations in various parts of the line. Then on 21st February they launched their offensive. The result was little more than a repetition of previous offensives in the West—slight gains in the first rush, gallant and tenacious resistance by the defenders who then counter-attacked, and the main position almost unchanged. Until the end of June, the struggle continued. On 1st July the British opened their offensive on the Somme, and German attention, consequently divided, could not longer be effective against the French. The crisis was over and the French still held Verdun.

The British objectives on the Somme were Bapaume and Peronne. For five months the battle continued, both British and French advancing well beyond their original positions. But the German defences, consisting of barbed-wire above ground and of elaborately constructed chambers underground, made the Allied progress both slow and costly. The new British "tanks", or heavily armoured cars invulnerable against rifle and machine-gun fire, were first brought into action in September 1916. Even these, though attaining some limited success owing to the element of surprise, were unable to make any marked impression upon the enemy's position. In October and November the rains made the ground so water-logged that the campaign ended without the capture of either Bapaume or Peronne.

The East.

While these events were taking place in the West, there were three other centres of activity during 1916. First, early in February the Russians renewed an offensive in the East, and by June they were advancing over a long line. This period coincided with that of the Verdun campaign, and one reason for the failure at Verdun was that the Germans viewed the Russian advance so seriously that they transferred enough troops from the western to the eastern front to check the Russians. Second, the Austrians attacked Italy and gained a considerable stretch of ground, much of which the Italians recovered before the campaign was over. Third, in August 1916, Roumania entered the War on the side of the Allies. Unfortunately for her, the stemming of the Russian advance allowed the Germans to turn large numbers of troops southwards so that before the end of the year Roumania was almost completely overrun. In Britain there was a change of government in December when Mr. Asquith resigned and Mr. Lloyd George became Prime Minister at the head of a National Government, which continued in office until the end of the War.

5. NAVAL AND COLONIAL WARFARE

British Navy.

Hitherto we have neglected any but quite incidental references to the one factor which was to decide the whole struggle, namely command of the sea. Although Britain took a large share in every department of warfare, her peculiar contribution could be made on the sea. The main British fleet was generally disposed between three naval stations: the Battle Fleet of Dreadnoughts and Super-Dreadnoughts under Admiral Jellicoe at Scapa Flow in the Orkneys; the Cruiser squadron under Beatty at Rosyth in the Firth of Forth; while miscellaneous smaller

craft, including destroyers, as well as older battleships, guarded the Channel. As soon as War was declared, the German navy was recalled to port whence—with only the slightest exceptions—it did not emerge until its final surrender. Hence there was no large-scale naval engagement such as the imaginations of most ordinary folk, and of not a few experts, had envisaged. On only three occasions were there definite naval actions: at the Falklands in 1914, off the Dogger Bank in 1915, and off Jutland in 1916. In the absence of great pitched battles, there were onerous duties—not less important than open fighting—which the British navy had to discharge. First, watch had to be kept on the German main fleet; and, second, Allied merchant shipping and troop-transports needed protection, while the enemy's shipping had to be intercepted.

Falklands, 1914.

The most formidable German Squadron at large at the outbreak of War was that of Admiral von Spee who had five fast cruisers in the Pacific. Near Chile in November he caught an inferior squadron of British vessels and sank them. Admiral Sturdee was immediately sent with a powerful squadron to retaliate. On 8th December he caught von Spee in the Falkland Islands, and before night fell the German squadron was at the bottom of the ocean. The seas were thus free to Allied merchantmen.

Dogger Bank, 1915.

In January 1915, the British Admiralty learned by wireless that the German cruiser squadron had moved from its base. Beatty's squadron moved out and met the Germans at the Dogger Bank. Owing largely to the disablement of Beatty's flag-ship, the British failed to bring on a pitched battle, and the German ships were able to return to their base, though several of them were severely damaged. The failure to seize the opportunity to destroy the whole German squadron was a great disappointment

to the Allies, but the action confirmed unmistakably the supremacy of the British fleet.

The British used this supremacy in order to stifle German oversea commerce. Germany tried to retaliate by developing her use of the submarine. In February 1915 she declared that a certain area around the British Isles was a "war zone" within which any ships—including neutrals' —would venture at their own risk. In pursuance of this policy, on 7th May 1915, the *Lusitania*, a great Cunard liner, was twice torpedoed off the Irish coast without warning, and sank in twenty minutes. Twelve hundred lives —of men, women and children—were lost, among them nearly 120 citizens of the United States of America. This, more than any other single event, evoked the active sympathy of the United States for the Allied cause.

A further incidental result of Germany's submarine warfare was that while Lord Kitchener was on his way to Russia to advise about the campaign in the East his vessel, H.M.S. *Hampshire*, was sunk by a mine on 6th June 1916, and Kitchener perished.

Jutland, 1916.

On the afternoon of 31st May 1916, news reached the British that the German battle fleet had been sighted in the North Sea. Beatty was sent to lure the enemy towards the main battle fleet. After an action off Jutland, he drew off northwards, and Jellicoe succeeded in deploying his ships in crescent formation so as to cut off the Germans from their base. Nightfall prevented a decisive action. Jellicoe waited in the hope of bringing on a battle next day; but under cover of the darkness the German Admiral, von Scheer, with great daring and with consummate skill, led his ships northwards and eastwards around the British fleet, and so made port in safety. In the course of the actions, the British lost six cruisers and eight destroyers, while two super-dreadnoughts were badly damaged. The German losses were less than this, but their

claim to have won a victory was nevertheless absurd. Henceforward, while the German fleet remained confined to port, the British were free to go where they would. That was the real answer to the question of who won the Battle of Jutland.

Being thus foiled of victory over the British navy, the Germans tried to achieve their object of crippling the Allies by increasing the severity of their submarine campaign. In January 1917, they declared that they would sink at sight and without warning all ships entering European waters. Such a policy would seriously affect the neutral maritime countries, and the United States in particular negotiated in an effort to secure a change in that policy. From the first it was clear that Germany had no intention of being persuaded. The upshot was that on 6th April 1917, the United States of America formally declared war against Germany. The results of this step will become more apparent when we return to the story of the land-war in Europe.

Zeebrugge, 1918.

Gradually the British navy learned how to cope with German submarines. Its methods were so effective that by the beginning of 1918 the submarine menace was being systematically defeated. In connection with this anti-submarine campaign, there took place one of the most notable exploits of the whole War, an exploit which deserves to be told at greater length than is possible here. Briefly, the British navy determined to stop up the two ports of Ostend and Zeebrugge which the Germans were using as a submarine base for attacks upon Channel shipping. On the night of 22nd–23rd April 1918, the British blew up part of the mole at Zeebrugge and, under cover of a smoke-screen, sank three ships to close up the mouth of the harbour, the crews being picked up from boats by the *Vindictive*. A few days later, the harbour of Ostend was similarly blocked up by sunken vessels.

German Colonies.

One incidental result of British naval supremacy was Germany's inability to protect her oversea possessions, the chief of them being in Africa. At the outbreak of War in 1914, the Germans of South-west Africa invaded Cape Colony, while some of the former Boer leaders raised a rebellion. Botha and Smuts, though they also had been Boer leaders, raised forces among those loyal to Great Britain, and, by the end of the year, had crushed the rebels. The way was then clear for the invasion of German South-west Africa, and by July 1915 that territory had been overrun by British South Africans.

In German East Africa the Germans maintained a successful defence. Early in 1916, General Smuts began a systematic conquest. All through the years 1916 and 1917 the campaign continued, but, though the bulk of the territory was in British hands by the end of 1916, not until November 1917 was the conquest really complete.

While these campaigns were proceeding in Africa, a similar fate was overtaking German possessions elsewhere. Australia and New Zealand took the German islands scattered about the Pacific. The final result was that, before the close of the War, Germany had lost the whole of her possessions outside Europe.

6. 1917: RUSSIA, AND THE HINDENBURG LINE

Russian Revolution.

Apart from the submarine campaign and the consequent entry of the United States into the War, with which we have dealt already, the main feature of 1917 was the revolution in Russia. Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the government of Russia had been thoroughly autocratic, all political power resting with the Czar. Then in 1906, popular discontent had compelled Nicholas II to summon a Duma. But, though a Duma continued hence-

forward to meet regularly, the discontent grew rather than decreased, partly because the Duma did not represent the mass of the people and partly because the Czar and his government did not work honestly through the Duma. The disasters to Russian arms in 1915 and 1916 intensified the popular bitterness against the government. By 1917, misery caused by serious scarcity of food became widespread and acute. Strikes broke out in all directions, and in March a company of government troops mutinied when ordered to fire on the mob. Because the Duma did not command public confidence, the workmen and soldiers chose independent bodies known as Soviets. So seriously menacing was the situation that in March Nicholas II abdicated, and a new government was established under the leadership of Kerensky.

The first necessity of this government, if it was to retain the people's support, was to reverse the defeats in the War. During the early part of July great efforts were made to this end; but Russia was still unable to produce adequate supplies of munitions and other necessaries. Meanwhile the majority (Bolshevik) section of the Socialist party was advocating the erection of a socialist State by methods of violent revolution. In order to be able to concentrate upon the socialistic reorganization of Russia, the Bolsheviks desired immediate peace-at-any-price with the Central Powers. These doctrines, spread among the army, completed the other causes of failure in the field. The Germans made rapid advance on the eastern front, and by early September they were in Riga and could have marched into Petrograd if they could have spared the requisite man-power. Such schemes became unnecessary when Kerensky's government was overthrown in November 1917 by the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky. Negotiations were immediately opened with Germany, and on 15th December an armistice was concluded at Brest-Litovsk, to the east of Warsaw. A final peace was arranged at the same place in March 1918, its terms

being that Russia should withdraw from Poland, Lithuania, Courland, Esthonia and the Ukraine, each of which was to be allowed to determine its own form of government. Henceforward Russia ceased to be a factor in the War.

Mesopotamia.

While these events were taking place in Russia, the British were aiming at the recovery of their position in Mesopotamia. Early in January, General Maude was moving up the Tigris; before the end of February, he had recovered Kut; and in March the British entered Baghdad. This secured one of the two routes between Europe and the East.

The other route was through Egypt which, though in British hands, was always liable to a Turkish attack from Palestine. In order to remove this danger, the British invaded Palestine and, after a long campaign, General Allenby took possession successively of Beersheba, Gaza and Jaffa. Then, on 11th December, Allenby entered Jerusalem which thus in 1917 passed back into Christian hands after being under Mohammedan control since 1087.

The West.

On the western front the Germans provided an element of surprise. During 1916, Hindenburg had been transferred to the west where he spent the winter in preparing a new line of defence. This "Hindenburg Line" ran for 60 miles southwards from Arras and was regarded as impregnable. For the most part, it was several miles behind what previously had been the "front line", and when the Allies attacked early in 1917 the Germans withdrew slowly eastwards behind their new fortifications. As they went they devastated every foot of land that they evacuated. The Allies thus found themselves in a desert which had to be fortified, while their enemies had retired to invulnerable defences. The British were the first to open an attack, and they advanced several miles east of

Arras seizing, as they did so, a number of positions of great military importance, the most notable being Vimy Ridge. The French attack on the Aisne resulted in unrelieved disaster: their losses during the first day of the battle were computed to be 100,000. In consequence, France became thoroughly demoralized and seemed almost ready to make peace. Their command was, however, reorganized; gradually nation and army recovered confidence, and in August they won a few minor successes.

Scarcely less serious than the French reverse was the defeat of the Italians. In October the Germans made a great drive at Caporetto, and the Italian line crumpled up. Only reinforcements, hastily sent by Britain and France, prevented the complete collapse of Italy. Nevertheless, she was virtually out of the War, and the Central Powers were in possession of large areas of Italy.

Meanwhile, 1917 had seen two movements which must not be overlooked. First, the collapse of Russia had allowed the wholesale transfer of German troops from the east to the west. Second, American troops were being trained in large numbers. Both these factors became fully effective in the following year's campaign.

7. 1918: THE CLOSING STAGES

German Offensives.

The aim of the Central Powers during the early months of 1918 was to use in the West the troops that had been released from the East and so to force on a decision before American co-operation could be effective. During March, April and May they delivered three offensives aimed respectively at Amiens, which was the nerve-centre of the communications between the British armies and the sea; at the Channel ports; and, finally, at Paris itself.

By sheer weight of numbers the Germans swept through Bapaume and Peronne until they were within striking

distance of Amiens. But the British line north of the town, and the French line south of it, held firm, so that the German position resembled a wedge thrust forward into the midst of enemies. Heavy reinforcements were rushed from England and from the French armies to this vital spot, and the German advance was stayed within sight of Amiens. Similar rushes to the north and to the south of this point resulted (as the map clearly shows) in the German's gaining further large wedges of land. At times a decisive break-through seemed inevitable, yet each time it was prevented.

The net results of the three-fold offensive were that the Germans had failed to reach any one of their objectives, or even to secure a position of strategic value; they had lengthened their line, thereby making it more difficult to hold; and their new line had wedges inviting attack. In short, the German wave had spent its force. On the Allies' side, Britain and France united their forces under the command of Marshal Foch; and by the end of June over 1,000,000 fresh American troops had sailed, while as many more were ready to follow. Events were gradually shaping themselves in preparation for the Allied counter-attack which was to be the culmination of the War.

Allied Offensive.

In July Foch launched a great offensive. The details of that offensive do not need to be told. Soon the whole line was on the move. By mid-October the Hindenburg Line had been pierced, the Germans had been compelled to abandon the Belgian coast, and the collapse of the whole German defence seemed only a question of time.

A similar story of the collapse of the Central Powers was to be told on all fronts. On 29th September Bulgaria was compelled to sign an armistice. Turkey's turn came next: Allenby advanced from Jerusalem, took Damascus, and on 3rd October Turkey signed an armistice. During October the Italians, supported by the British, advanced

northward against Austria who also, on 3rd November, secured an armistice.

Germany, deserted by her allies, could not possibly maintain the struggle alone. Signs of national discontent began to be manifested in all directions. On 5th November, mutiny broke out in the fleet at Kiel where the red flag was hoisted over some of the ships, and similar movements followed in several of the great German towns. On 9th November, Kaiser William II abdicated and fled to Holland. A socialist government, under Ebert, came into power. An armistice, arranged between Foch and the German military representatives, came into force at 11 a.m. on 11th November. Foch's terms were that German troops should withdraw not only from all territory that they had invaded but also to the right bank of the Rhine, that German territory west of that river should be occupied by Allied troops and that the whole German navy should be surrendered. Thus the fighting ended.

Some idea of the extent and cost of the War may be gained from the total number of men killed which amounted to upwards of 8,000,000, of whom 1,000,000 belonged to the British Empire. To this must be added the sufferings of many times that number of wounded, and the privations and anxiety of the friends of these men in all the fighting countries. The cost in money, and the sacrifices in other directions, are beyond calculation. When the struggle was at last over, the question of supreme importance was whether the former combatants would be willing to make equal sacrifices to restore the world after the War and to secure a permanent peace for the future.

CHAPTER XX

THE PEACE TREATIES, AND AFTER

1. PROBLEMS OF THE PEACE

THE first reaction produced by the signing of the Armistice was one of universal relief, but this soon gave way to an equally universal sense of perplexity. While the War was in progress, the task before every belligerent nation was relatively simple: all the national energies and resources had to be concentrated for the supreme purpose of defeating the enemy. Not until the fighting was over did the politicians and their peoples begin to realize the problems that the War had raised. Some countries had entered the War for one reason, some for other reasons; but, apart from such particular motives, no combatant had had the opportunity, during the feverish days of the fighting, of thinking out coolly the deeper issues involved. The Allies had been completely victorious; everywhere their enemy had been compelled to lay down his arms. Now they had to decide what they would do with him and with the stricken world at large.

The "Fourteen Points".

Only one man seemed to have reached a comprehensive solution to these problems. This was Woodrow Wilson who, as the nominee of the Democratic Party, had been elected in 1913 President of the United States of America. The neutrality of the United States until the closing stages

of the War had allowed Wilson to regard the struggle with a greater detachment than had been possible for the politicians of Europe and to bring something like an impartial mind to bear upon the issues. As a result, his speeches and pronouncements were concerned not so much with the immediate details of the War as with the principles which should form the basis of the ensuing peace. His suggestions for a League of Nations which should establish machinery to avoid a repetition of the 1914 catastrophe, for the abolition of secret diplomacy, for the freedom of the seas—these ideas, backed, as they were believed to be, by the American people, came like a breath of new life upon a weary, gasping Europe.

In an address to the American Congress on 8th January 1918, the President enunciated his aims for the Peace, whenever that might come, under fourteen heads, henceforward known as the " Fourteen Points ". The first four of these, laying down principles which the other ten applied more particularly, contained the following demands:

1. Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.
2. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas outside the territorial waters, alike in peace and in war.
3. The removal, as far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all nations.
4. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

These were the " Points "—endorsed by American opinion and accepted by the Allies—which the Central Powers expected would form the basis of peace; and in this expectation they surrendered in the autumn of 1918.

The Leaders.

The first full session of the Peace Conference met in Paris on 18th January 1919. Twenty-seven States were members of the Conference. The number of representatives allotted to each of them ranged between five and one according to the importance of the States. Actually, only six full sessions of the Conference were held until the presentation to the German delegates of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. The real work of treaty-making was done by the Council of Ten on which each of the Great Powers—Great Britain, the United States of America, France, Italy and Japan—had two members. Even this was found to be too large for rapid decisions, and at the end of March 1919 its place was taken by the " Big Four ", namely, Wilson, Lloyd George, Clemenceau and Orlando, these being the chief representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France and Italy respectively. Thus the shape taken by the Peace was the expression, to no small degree of the personalities and view-points of these four men.

Of *President Wilson* something has already been said. His prestige—due largely to his freedom from European entanglements—and his lofty idealism were universally acknowledged. Had these qualities been linked with experienced statesmanship and real strength of will, there would have been few limits to the President's power for good at that critical juncture in world-history. The greater part of his life had been spent in writing books and at Princeton University. These academic influences he never outlived, and he was consequently outmatched by the mental nimbleness of Lloyd George and by the political craft of Clemenceau. Wilson's most serious weakness as a leader was due to his consulting with members of the Democratic party only : the result was that to the Americans, the whole question of the peace-terms, and especially of the League of Nations, became a party-issue so that,

when the political pendulum swung against Wilson, it swung also against the projects for which he stood.

The French Prime Minister, *Clemenceau* formed a sharp contrast to Wilson. Now an old man, he saw an opportunity of realizing his life's ambition of gaining redress for the indignities which his beloved France had been compelled to endure in 1870. For the achievement of this definite aim he exerted all the wonderful tenacity of his mind. Fitly he was known as "The Tiger". The idealism of Wilson he regarded as impractical rubbish, though he was prepared to humour the President in order to attain what seemed to be the security of France. In the hands of such a man, Wilson was like a sheep before its shearer.

Of *Orlando* not much need be said: his interest was limited almost solely to the acquiring for Italy of possessions in the Adriatic.

Lloyd George was different in experience and in temperament from any of the other three. His compelling and agile leadership had been largely responsible for the supreme efforts which Great Britain had put forward during the War. As a framer of a peace-treaty, he lacked expert knowledge and experience of international politics. On the other hand, the peculiar contributions which he could make to the Conference were almost uncanny insight and mental agility: these together enabled him to understand both Wilson's idealism and Clemenceau's narrowness and often to find a compromise between them.

2. THE TREATIES

Terms of peace between the Allies on the one hand and Germany, Austria, Hungary and Turkey on the other, were made in the Treaties of Versailles, St. Germain, Trianon and Sèvres respectively. Three major problems faced the Conference, namely, first to fix the amount of reparations payable by the Central Powers to the victors, second to adjust the map, and third to devise means for avoiding

EUROPE 1923.

FINLAND
Leningrad
Moscow
NORWAY
ESTH-ONIA
LATVIA
LITHU-ANIA
UNITED KINGDOM
NORTH SEA
DENMARK
EAST PRUSSIA
RUSSIA
HOLLAND
GERMANY
POLAND
BELGIUM
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA
LUXEMBURG
ALSACE LORRAINE
HUNGARY
ROUMANIA
BLACK SEA
AUSTRIA
SWITZ^{R}
YUGO-SLAVIA
BULGARIA
FRANCE
ITALY
TURKEY
Corsica (Fr)
GREECE
SYRIA
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
Sardinia
Cyprus
Sicily
Crete
TRANS JORDANIA
ALGERIA
TUNIS
MOROCCO
EGYPT
LIBYA

war in the future. Our first, and chief, concern will be with the Treaty of Versailles.

Reparations.

The matter of reparations was to prove one of the thorniest problems with which Europe was to be afflicted, not only in 1918 but for many years to follow. The principle on which reparations were to be based had been laid down in an Allied Note sent to the German government on 5th November 1918: "compensation will be made by Germany for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and to their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea, and from the air". This was in accordance with the spirit of the "Fourteen Points", but it raised three troublesome questions. First, what exactly was meant by "damage"? Second, how was the damage to be assessed? And third, what form should the payment take? After much heated debate, the "Big Four" agreed that "damage" done to the civilian population and their property" must be interpreted literally and must not be extended to cover the general costs of the War except that it was to include war-pensions and similar allowances. In order to estimate the cost, as thus defined, a Reparation Commission was appointed. In April 1919 the Commission informed Germany that the total amount of Reparation was £6,600,000,000 payable in yearly instalments, partly in cash and partly in kind. Whether this figure was either just or within Germany's capacity to pay is a question beyond the province of this book to answer. Let the theory of these matters be as it may, the future was to show that in practice Germany was never to pay either the total sum or even the scheduled amount for any one year.

Territorial Adjustments.

Of the territorial adjustments, little more than a catalogue is here possible. The most difficult of the problems

to be solved in this section of the Treaty concerned the Rhine frontier. Ever since 1870, the loss of Alsace-Lorraine had rankled bitterly in the minds and emotions of Frenchmen. The Treaty not only restored those two provinces to France but also established the German lands on the west of the Rhine, together with a strip of land fifty kilometres wide on the east of the Rhine, as a "demilitarized" zone, that is, all fortifications were to be razed and no troops were to assemble within it. Along with Alsace-Lorraine went the adjoining Saar Valley whose valuable coal-mines were intended as compensation for the mines damaged by Germans in North France; for fifteen years the Saar was to be administered by the League of Nations, and at the end of that time the inhabitants were to be allowed a free choice of their future government.

The settlement of Poland was indicated by the thirteenth of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, which had stipulated that Poland should be independent. But what was meant by "Poland"? After long discussions, the Conference agreed that to the former Russian Poland should be added West Prussia, part of Silesia and certain other districts whose populations were mainly Polish, and that these together should form the new State of Poland. Also, northern Schleswig was given to Denmark.

The decision respecting the former German colonies was along quite unprecedented lines. If those colonies were distributed between the Allies, jealousy would certainly be aroused; yet most of the peoples concerned were incapable of governing themselves. The Conference therefore adopted a scheme evolved by General Smuts and warmly supported by President Wilson. This plan was that the welfare of the backward peoples, formerly under the government of Germany or her allies, should be vested in the League of Nations, and that the League should apportion the colonies concerned to various States who were to be entrusted with their administration. These colonies, not being the possessions of the States in question

but being held under the mandate of the League, were called "Mandated Territories".

Other clauses of the Treaty provided for the disarmament of Germany. Her army was not to exceed 100,000 officers and men, and was to be used solely to guard the frontiers and maintain internal order. Conscription was forbidden, and in its place a system of long service for regular soldiers was set up; this prevented the accumulation of a large trained reserve. Germany's air-force was abolished; and her navy was severely curtailed—submarines being forbidden entirely—so as to be useful for little more than coastguard work and the protection of shipping.

The feeling of Germany against the terms of peace was extremely bitter. Her antagonism was due not mainly to the harshness of the terms as such but rather to the contention that they violated both the letter and the spirit of the Fourteen Points which, before the Armistice, the Allies had declared should form the basis of the final peace. However, the Allies remained obdurate, and on 28th June 1919—exactly five years after the fateful assassination at Serajevo—in the great Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, the Treaty was finally signed by representatives of the Allies and of Germany.

Treaties of St. Germain and Trianon.

Two difficulties had to be faced in making a settlement with Austria and Hungary. The first was the extraordinary mixture of races included in their territory. Several of these peoples had close affinity with races outside Austria-Hungary, especially with those of the Balkans. In order to prevent a repetition of the ferment which previously had been chronic in south-east Europe, the Conference decided to make such adjustment of boundaries as would establish national States; that is to say, the political map was to be made to coincide, as nearly as possible, with the race map. This involved many com-

plicated problems: questions of race had to be balanced against questions of history, and a compromise arrived at. Second, in the autumn of 1918 the Hungarians had declared their independence of Austria, so that the Conference had to make treaties with Austria and Hungary separately. The Treaty of St. Germain was signed with Austria on 10th September 1919, and the Treaty of Trianon with Hungary on 4th June 1920. Their terms, taken together, may be summarized as follows.

A new State of Czecho-Slovakia was erected by the combination of Bohemia, Moravia, a strip of Austrian Silesia, and Slovakia. Another new State, Jugo-Slavia, was to be composed of Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina and some of the Dalmatian coast-lands. Italy was given a slice of Adriatic coast including Trieste. Another district, Bukovina, was added to Roumania. Provisions relating to the army, the navy and reparations were similar in principle to those which the Treaty of Versailles had imposed upon Germany.

Treaties of Sèvres and Lausanne.

Peace with Turkey involved a set of problems entirely different from those which the Allies had to solve with any of their other enemies. Two of these problems were outstanding: first, the old question of whether Turkey, as an eastern State, should be allowed to retain any territory in Europe; and second, what should be done with her Asiatic possessions then in the hands of the Allies. Finally, in August 1920, peace-terms were made at Sèvres. But while negotiations for this peace had been proceeding in Europe, a nationalist movement had been growing in Turkey, its adherents being resolute against the cession of territory stipulated in the Sèvres Treaty, at least of those portions of territory in which the population was Mohammedan. A National Assembly, held at Angora in Asia Minor, chose a National Government led by Mustapha Kemal, an experienced army-officer. As early as June

1920, the Nationalist forces began to attack the Allies. Protracted and complicated negotiations continued between the Allies and the Nationalists until an armistice was signed in October 1922. In November the Sultan was deposed, and a Republic, with Mustapha Kemal as President, was set up. This was now the accepted government of Turkey and had therefore authority to sign permanent terms of peace. This was done at Lausanne in July 1923.

Turkey lost considerable tracts of territory. Syria, Mesopotamia (now commonly known as Iraq), and Palestine became mandated territories, the first being administered by France, and the other two by Britain. Egypt and the Soudan were also taken from Turkey and became an independent State.[1] Turkish land in Europe was to be limited to Constantinople together with an area west of the city just large enough to include Adrianople. Zones on each side of the Bosphorus and of the Sea of Marmora were to be demilitarized, and the Straits were to be internationalized and placed under the control of the League of Nations. Turkish power was thus enormously curtailed, but there still remained an " Eastern Question " for Europe.

Criticism of Treaties.

A comparison of the new map of Europe with the race-map shows clearly that the Peace-makers, in re-drawing the boundaries of the Central Powers, tried to do so in accordance with the nationalities of the inhabitants. To this extent, at least, they had learned the lesson from the failure of the Peacemakers at Vienna in 1815. The new States of Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia are proof of this. Yet the Conference seems to have lacked the courage to apply its convictions logically: for example, large numbers of Germans were included in Czecho-Slovakia, and three million Hungarians were excluded from Hungary as compared with only eight millions who were included.

[1] Chapter XVIII, Section 3.

The most glaring instance of the violation of the principle of nationality was that of Austria which, being deprived of a large fringe of Germans, was reduced to a State of not more than 6,500,000 of whom nearly 2,000,000 are in Vienna. Appropriately Austria is known as a " tadpole State "—all head and no body.

The explanation of these injustices, and of others of which these are typical, is that the politicians who met at Paris, and the nations whom they represented, had not yet outlived the enflamed atmosphere of war-time. It is not easy to see how this could have been avoided, but it undoubtedly marred the decisions of the Conference and hence produced bitterness and unrest which have existed ever since and will continue to exist until the causes are removed.

3. LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Organization.

The Treaty of Versailles, in spite of its failure to maintain in details the principles of its framers, contained as its opening section the one hope for the future, namely, the Covenant of the League of Nations. The particular form into which the League organization was cast did not result from any one man's ideas, though the enthusiasm of President Wilson and the statesmanship of General Smuts, the representative of South Africa at the Peace Conference, were chiefly responsible for its foundation. There are five main bodies through which the League functions, namely the Assembly, the Council, the Secretariat, the International Labour Organization, and the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The *Assembly* consists of representatives of all the member-States. " At Meetings of the Assembly ", says the Covenant, " each Member of the League shall have one vote, and may not have more than three representatives." Ordinarily the Assembly meets in September of each year,

though it may be called for additional meetings if some matter of special urgency arises. The Assembly deliberates upon the general policy to be adopted by the League in any given question, and it recommends courses of action to individual governments; but it has no power to enforce upon those governments the execution of its decisions. Nevertheless, the fact that the Assembly represents the concerted will of the world and that its sessions are public, has proved in practice to have great moral influence upon individual States: the position of any one or two members who, for selfish reasons, may be opposed to a particular proposition, may be extremely unenviable.

The *Council* is the executive organ of the League. Not every member-State is entitled to membership of the Council. Its composition consists of one member from each of the Great Powers, namely Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Germany, which are represented permanently, and one each from nine other Powers, three of these latter being selected each year by the Assembly for three years. In general terms, the functions of the Council may be described as those of carrying out the details of policy determined by the Assembly and of dealing with emergencies that may arise when the Assembly is not in session.

The *Secretariat* is the League's Civil Service. At its head is the Secretary-General, and its staff numbers some six hundred and seventy men and women drawn from about fifty different nations. Within the Secretariat are eleven sections each dealing with a particular branch of administration, such as finance, disarmament, health, mandates.

The formulation of a Treaty affecting nearly all the leading States of the world was seized upon by the leaders of "Labour" as a not-to-be-neglected opportunity for securing a permanent organization for protecting and improving the interests of that section of the world's population commonly referred to as "the workers". For this purpose, the Treaty of Versailles set up the *International*

Labour Organization to work in close co-operation with the League. The expenses of the I.L.O. are derived from League funds (to which every member-State makes a stipulated contribution) and States that are members of the League are members also of the I.L.O. Its work consists of gathering together information, making recommendations to the League, and drawing up agreements for the approval of governments. The I.L.O. has a double aim, namely, the world-wide application of a minimum standard of workers' conditions and then, ultimately, the raising of conditions in the more backward countries to the level of those in the more advanced ones. These objects can hardly be attained otherwise than by an international body backed by the sanction of such a representative authority as the League.

The *Permanent Court of International Justice* consists of a committee of fifteen judges chosen by the League to deal with legal disputes arising between League members. The judges are of fifteen different nationalities, and this international character of the court not only provides an assurance of fairness in the decisions reached but also brings to it a knowledge of a wide variety of legal systems. Unlike the rest of the League organization, which is centred at Geneva, the Court sits at the Peace Palace at The Hague where it holds permanent sessions so that, in the event of a sudden crisis, its machinery is ready to be put into immediate operation.

Membership.

The first Assembly was held in November 1920, by which time there were forty-two member-States. From these were excluded Germany and her allies in the War, so that the League appeared to be a League of victors only. Gradually, as war-passions cooled, this defect was amended : as early as 1920, Austria and Bulgaria were admitted to membership ; Hungary followed in 1922, and Germany in 1926. The two most notable omissions from the roll of

members were Russia, whose Bolshevik government refused to co-operate with the capitalist States, and the United States of America where membership of the League unhappily had become a party-question. Yet even these two States, as well as some others which for various reasons did not become members, shared in certain of the League's activities: thus, the United States is a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice, and Russia has been represented at the various Disarmament Conferences. In effect, over three-quarters of the world's population was represented directly on the League, while a substantial part of the remaining population was, through the League's machinery, closely in touch with those that were members.

4. EUROPE, 1919–1936

Before proceeding further with the history of Great Britain and the British Empire during the years following the Peace Treaties, we must try to understand the trend of things in the world in general which formed the background, and in large measure the explanation, of events in Britain.

The details of events in the individual countries are beside our purpose; but if we look at the world as a whole, and at Europe more particularly, certain broadly marked periods become apparent. They may be briefly summarized thus: 1919–1920, a boom in trade; 1920–1924, confusion, both political and economic; 1924–1929, peaceful recovery; 1929–1933, economic collapse; 1933–1936, economic recovery, marred by nationalist upheaval.

1919-1920.

The boom of prosperity which set in immediately after the cessation of hostilities is not difficult to understand. During the later War years, manufacturers had concentrated so exclusively upon Government contracts that the civilian population had had the greatest difficulty in buying

goods to supply its own needs. The end of the War brought an end also to most of the Government contracts and made the manufacturers keen to keep their factories busy by producing goods to meet the accumulated needs of the people. For the moment they had every prospect of success. To large numbers of the people, the War had brought high incomes. Also, the demobilization of many thousands of officers and men increased both the demand for civilian supplies and the amount of money to pay for them. The result was a high rate of spending, on necessities and luxuries alike, and hence a boom in trade. But the boom was unhealthy and artificial. It arose not because of increased economic resources but because a large proportion of the people was satisfying accumulated needs by spending accumulated money. As soon as the immediate needs were met and the money exhausted, the boom would end as suddenly as it had begun. Before the end of 1920 that point had been reached and a corresponding slump had set in, the manufacturers being left with immense quantities of goods which they had produced in excess of the real demand.

The defeated Central Powers, particularly Germany, Austria and Hungary, did not share in the wave of prosperity. So complete was their exhaustion and so chaotic the condition of their finances, that they became subject to something like economic paralysis. Vast numbers of their peoples were reduced to starvation from which they were saved only by great relief organizations financed in Britain, the United States of America, and France by the governments and by the voluntary subscriptions of individuals.

Another event of this first post-War period was the erection of the *Fascist Régime* in Italy. The root cause of the Fascist movement was the desire to satisfy certain Italian nationalist ambitions, namely, to acquire the coastline of Albania and the port of Fiume. The failure to secure these objectives during and after the War was

blamed upon the Government which had been too feeble either to conduct the War successfully or to deal with riots which had broken out in the big towns as a protest against the rise of prices. It was at the head of this movement of discontent that Benito Mussolini placed himself. Mussolini had already made a name for himself as a political journalist. In March 1919 he formed a union (Fascio) of a group of friends, and during the following months the group grew into a nation-wide party. In October 1922 a Congress was held at Naples, the result of which was the "March on Rome" by the Fascist "Black Shirts" who seized control of the public services and so made themselves the virtual masters of the State. Already Mussolini had declared his adherence to the monarchy; and, towards the end of October, King Victor Emmanuel III invited Mussolini to form a ministry.

1920-1924.

Returning now to the main trend of European events, we may note that as soon as the post-War trade-boom broke, towards the end of 1920, the real results of the War and of the Peace Treaties became apparent. One source of political difficulty was that the former autocratic Governments in central and eastern Europe had been replaced by democracies. A democracy can function successfully only where the people are experienced in working the system and have confidence in capable leaders. Neither of these conditions can be fulfilled in a suddenly-erected democracy, and the inevitable result was frequent changes of government and disorder. The confusion was worst in the newly created nationalist States which had to grow their own traditions—necessarily a long process—and which had troublesome internal divisions. In Czecho-Slovakia, for example, the Slovaks resented the supremacy of the Czechs. Austria and Hungary both suffered from drastic loss of territory which had included some of their most valuable industrial and agricultural resources; also,

trade with their new neighbours was rendered almost impossible by the high customs duties which the latter imposed.

One encouraging event of this period was the *Washington Conference* which met in November 1921 to consider the reduction of naval armaments. The Conference concluded its work in February 1922 with an agreement whereby the five naval Powers—U.S.A., Britain, France, Japan and Italy—fixed the maximum tonnages for battleships and battle-cruisers. Also the first four of the five Powers agreed that, respecting difficulties in the Pacific, if any of them was threatened by the action of another Power they would take common action. The Treaty was to hold good for at least ten years, after which time any of the signatories could give twelve months' notice of its intention to renounce its adherence.

Meanwhile, Germany continued to be overshadowed by the cloud of *reparations*. We have seen that in 1921 the amount of reparations was fixed at £6,600,000,000. This stupendous sum, however and whenever it might be paid, must ultimately be derived from industry. But German industry and trade were already in a chaotic condition owing to the War and to the hindrances which a defeated country met in trying to recover. The new toll of reparations seemed all that was needed to complete Germany's collapse. An index of her condition was the decline in the value of her currency: the pre-War value of the mark had been 20 to the pound sterling; before the end of 1921 it was 1,000 to the pound; and within a couple of years later its constantly falling figure was so colossal as to be meaningless. In December 1922 Germany's failure to pay the complete reparation instalments due was followed by the French occupation of the industrial Ruhr Valley. Such an action, though it might relieve the feelings of the creditor, did nothing to improve the economic condition of the debtor.

In January 1924 a committee of financial experts began to try to thresh out the problem of reparations. Finally,

in August, the plan proposed by this *Dawes Committee*—which derived its name from its American Chairman—was accepted by both the Allies and Germany. Its main provisions were for the issue of a new German currency called the Reichsmark and for the paying of reparations by Germany in increasing annual amounts according to a fixed scale. The plan had its weaknesses (for example, it did not fix the total amount due from Germany); but it did give to the German people some hope of recovery from their plight, and it established for the first time friendship between the Allies and their former enemies and thus offered some prospect of a period of peaceful reconstruction.

1924-1929.

The fact was that, six years having elapsed since the Armistice, the new conditions were establishing themselves, and prosperity was beginning to return. The new spirit in the world seemed to offer some hope that the time was ripe to tackle the last outstanding problem, namely, disarmament. What was certain was that there could be no general agreement to disarm until there was a general sense of security, and in particular until France was assured that her disarmament would not leave her a prey to German invasion.

In February 1925 the solution seemed to be provided by a proposal by Stresemann, the German Chancellor. His scheme was that France should be given the security she desired by a combined guarantee of France, Germany, Britain and Italy. Subsequent discussions at Locarno, in Switzerland, led to a comprehensive series of agreements —known as the *Locarno Treaties*—finally signed in London on 1st December 1925. Germany made separate agreements with France, Belgium, Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, undertaking that all disputes should be settled by peaceful methods. The fifth Treaty was signed by Germany, France, Belgium, Britain and Italy, and guaranteed (1) that if Germany invaded France the other Powers would lend

France armed support, and (2) that the five would settle all disputes by peaceful means.

The effect of the Locarno Treaties was to lift a weight from the mind of Europe and to give hope of the beginning of a new era of world-peace. In the 1926 Assembly of the League of Nations, Germany was received as a member of the League and thus was restored to a position of something like equality with the other States of Europe.

The moment seemed opportune for tackling the major problem of general disarmament. In December 1925 the Council of the League appointed a Commission to discuss the subject in preparation for a Disarmament Conference which was to meet as soon as the time was ripe. That Conference first met in February 1932, but in the meantime the world-situation had been transformed by a fresh economic collapse.

Before pursuing that story we must turn to a country which, since the end of the War, had kept herself outside general European affairs, namely, *Soviet Russia*. In the Republic set up in Russia after the 1917 Revolution a novel system of representation was adopted : parliamentary constituencies were arranged not on geographical lines but by organizing soviets (" councils ") of workers according to their occupation and then giving representation through the soviets. The franchise was given to all " workers ", male and female, of eighteen years of age and upwards ; but people who were not regarded as workers were disfranchised. To Russia proper (that is, Moscow and the neighbouring area) there were joined, in December 1922, six other States organized on soviet principles, and thus was formed the federation known as the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics (U.S.S.R.). Two main stages may be noted in the history of Soviet Russia. First, Lenin and the other leaders of the 1917 Revolution, passionately desiring the permanent organization of Russia as a Communist State, were convinced that such a State could not exist in a world organized on capitalist principles. They

therefore set to work, by propaganda of all kinds, to induce the workers of other States to break into revolution and organize republics in imitation of Russia. The outcome was to show that the Russian leaders had completely misunderstood the traditions and the temperament of the peoples of western Europe: the only effect of the Russian propaganda was to provoke resentment among the workers instead of converting them. After Lenin died in 1924 the conviction spread that the propaganda abroad was a waste of Russian strength, and that Russia's wiser policy would be to develop more intensely her own resources so as to raise the standard of life of her people and, at the same time, to make herself economically independent of the rest of the world. Thus began, under the leadership of Stalin, the second stage in the history of post-War Russia. This stage saw an enormous expansion of Russian industry and the opening up of diplomatic relations with the capitalist States: in 1929 with Britain, in 1932 with Italy and France, in 1933 with U.S.A.; and in 1934 Russia became a member of the League of Nations.

1929-1933.

The clue to the economic collapse of 1929 and 1930 lay in America. Since 1921, the United States had been enjoying a period of prosperity far in excess of that of any European country, including Britain. The result was that wealthy Americans had invested their capital very heavily in European countries, particularly in Germany, so that —by a financial process too intricate to be explained here in detail—the payment of German reparations and of Allied debts, which were supported by reparations, were really being paid with American capital. Thus the economic stability of the world was pivoted upon American prosperity. But American prosperity was itself far from stable. It was largely a bubble-prosperity which had swollen rapidly through false self-confidence and which would shrink as rapidly if anything began to weaken the

confidence. In October 1929 the American bubble burst —again for reasons beyond our immediate concern—and American financiers and industrialists, many of whom had been wallowing in money, were suddenly faced with ruin. In order to keep her factories going, America raised many of her already high import duties to a point which made it impossible for foreign goods to enter the country. Europe therefore suffered in two respects: first, American capital was withdrawn; and second, America ceased to be a market for European goods. Hence the American slump was quickly followed by a slump in every country in Europe.

Most of the European countries tried to defend themselves by much the same methods as America had used, namely, by raising their tariffs and by reducing wages. The result was to produce a stagnation of trade and thereby to intensify their ills. In every industrial country employment decreased enormously: whereas the number unemployed in some twenty industrial countries was about 3,500,000 in 1928, it was 13,500,000 in 1932.

Germany was naturally one of the countries to feel the distress most acutely, for she more than any other country had been living on American loans; and in Germany the reaction to the distress was political not less than economic. During the elections to the Reichstag in September 1930 the National Socialist party had argued that the root cause of all Germany's ills was the crippling terms of the Treaty of Versailles and had urged that Germany should repudiate the Treaty. It was therefore of the highest significance that the elections increased the membership of the *National Socialists* (that is, the Nazis) from 12 to 107. Further, the election of July 1932 gave them 230 seats, and in January 1933 Herr Hitler, the leader of the Party, became Chancellor. In August 1934 President Hindenburg died, and Herr Hitler joined the Presidency to the Chancellorship, thus becoming the Dictator of Germany. His methods were certainly those of the most

violent Dictatorship. No party other than his own was allowed to exist ; and individuals who showed the slightest aversion to the new régime were herded into concentration camps or were assassinated. The Jews, who were regarded as having profited by Germany's poverty in order to increase their own wealth, were treated with a barbarity which grew more and more fiendish as time passed.

Though these events in Germany were provoked immediately by distress, their cause was also political. In spite of the Locarno Treaties and of Germany's membership of the League, the German people still was conscious of the humiliation it had suffered under the Treaty of Versailles, and it felt that whatever equality it shared with other nations was patronizingly granted as by victors to defeated. The rise of the Nazis to power was thus an expression of acute nationalism, a fact demonstrated at every subsequent stage in the story of Nazi Germany.

On the other side of the world there was a contemporary expression of nationalism which was an evil omen for the general peace. In September 1931 the Japanese suddenly overran *Manchuria*—a province of China—and set up a new puppet State which they called the Republic of Manchukuo and which was under Japan's "protection". However sound Japan's reasons may have been for her action—and she claimed the need to guard the main Manchurian railway-line which was under Japanese control—her sudden, high-handed resort to force was a clear violation of the Covenant of the League and, as such, provoked the indignation of most of the other Powers. China appealed to the League. The League States, including Britain, shrinking from the possibility of war against Japan, refused to express their indignation in effective action and thus allowed the aggressor to retain what she had seized—a lesson that was not lost upon other would-be aggressors.

These events in Europe and Asia were not conducive to the success of the *Disarmament Conference* which had

opened in February 1932. The Conference had not been long in session before the enormous difficulties of an agreed process of general disarmament became apparent. Not the least difficult of its problems was to equate the weapons that were vital in one country to the different weapons that were vital in another. To illustrate the same difficulty from another angle: a submarine would be of paramount importance to Britain but useless to Switzerland! As a result, the Conference, unable to find any common or sure basis for its work, dragged on hopelessly. The results of the advent of Hitler's aggressive party to power in Germany was the final blow: in October 1933 Germany withdrew from the Conference and announced her forthcoming withdrawal from the League. To proceed with discussions of general disarmament in face of the obvious intention of Germany to defy Europe by rearming herself was plainly futile. From that time the Disarmament Conference, which had met amid the high hopes of the world, began to die a lingering, dishonoured death.

1933-1936.

Herr Hitler, from the moment of his accession to power, assumed the initiative in European affairs. In March 1935 he repudiated the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles and inaugurated a system of conscription to raise the largest army in Europe, consisting of 550,000 men, at the same time organizing formidable naval and air forces. A year later, on 7th March 1936, he repudiated also the Treaty of Locarno, and simultaneously advanced 40,000 troops into the demilitarized zones of the Rhineland. As against these moves, Herr Hitler offered to sign with France and Belgium a twenty-five-year peace pact, to arrange similar pacts with certain States in south-east Europe, and to return to the League on certain conditions. But the fact that he was at that very moment renouncing old treaties did not encourage the other Powers to sign new ones.

Parallel in spirit with this attitude of Germany was the attitude of Italy towards *Abyssinia*. In November 1934, Italian and Abyssinian forces had come into conflict at Walwal near the borders of Abyssinia and Italian Somaliland. Thereafter Italy moved masses of troops into her East African territories of Eritrea and Somaliland, and adopted an increasingly threatening attitude towards Abyssinia. In August 1935, a million Italian troops began to pour over the frontiers into Abyssinia. Throughout the remainder of 1935 and during the first half of 1936 the conflict went on. On 1st May 1936, the Abyssinian Emperor, Haile Selassie, left his capital, Addis Ababa, for the French port of Jibuti, whence he went on board a British cruiser. On 9th May, Signor Mussolini announced the annexation of Abyssinia and the assumption by King Victor Emmanuel of the title of Emperor. The steps which had been taken, both through the League machinery at Geneva and between the Powers acting individually, to try first to prevent the conflict and later to stop it, are too numerous and complicated to be detailed in this summary. The upshot was that, as three years earlier in Manchuria, the League failed to intervene effectively, and Italy was thus left to work her will in Abyssinia. This, be it noted, was due not to any defect in the League system as such —its aims or its machinery—but to the unwillingness of the member-States to take the immediate risks which their adherence to the Covenant clearly implied. Nevertheless the League could not continue to exist under such shocks as it had recently sustained in Manchuria, in the Disarmament Conference, and in Abyssinia ; and the member-States might find ultimately that they had taken greater risks through their timidity than if they had carried out the terms of the Covenant.

Meanwhile, events in *Spain* were not much more encouraging. In 1923, following long disturbances, the Spanish Constitution had been suspended. Thereafter Spain was governed under a Dictatorship which, though primarily

military in character, was never very firmly established. In April 1931 a wave of republicanism led to the fall of the Dictatorship and the abdication of King Alfonso XIII. The new republican Government, though it managed to keep in office for some time, finally proved unable to cope with the widespread confusion and discontent; and in July 1936 General Francisco Franco, Governor of the Canaries, began a military revolution by raising his standard in Spanish Morocco. Thence large bodies of troops were transported to Spain. A sudden sweep carried the insurgents to within striking distance of Madrid, but there the Republicans held the line. The insurgents received substantial help from both Germany and Italy, and in order to prevent the conflict from spreading into a general European war, France proposed an international agreement not to intervene in Spain. Though Germany and Italy agreed in principle, they continued to support the insurgents; and in October Russia gave notice that she no longer considered herself bound by her agreement not to intervene. Thenceforward, Russia gave support to the Spanish Republican Government, so that it was not until the middle of 1939 that General Franco was able to wear down the Republican opposition and to set up a Government on Fascist lines.

On 9th December 1935 there met in London a *Naval Conference* of the five Powers that had signed the 1922 Washington Naval Treaty—America, Britain, France, Italy and Japan. Twelve months earlier, Japan, acting in accordance with the Washington Treaty, had given notice that she would no longer adhere to its provisions. The Conference discussions, though prolonged, had little practical result. In January 1936 the Japanese delegates withdrew; and at the end of February Italy announced that the technical difficulties made it impossible for her to sign a further agreement. The three remaining Powers continued their discussions, and on 25th March signed an undertaking that for six years each of them would make

an annual statement to the others of its programme of naval building. It was a disappointing result: for three Powers to make an agreement while two others remained outside the agreement was of limited and uncertain value.

5. GREAT BRITAIN, 1919–1936

The events, both political and economic, in the world at large during the years following the signing of the Versailles Treaty had inevitable reactions upon life in Great Britain. We have already followed the course of the successive Governments between 1919 and the beginning of the second Baldwin Administration in 1924.[1]

General Strike, 1926.

The first major problem which that Administration had to face was the General Strike of 1926, than which nothing could have afforded a better illustration of the close connection between events in Britain and events on the Continent. The trouble originated in the coal-mining industry. During the War, coal had been vital to the production of every kind of munition and equipment, and the industry had consequently flourished. But, like other industries, mining had suffered severely during the slump years. In 1919 the miners had secured a seven hours' day, and in 1921 a wages agreement: whatever the virtues or evils of these agreements, they undoubtedly placed a heavy toll on the industry. Prosperity was temporarily restored during 1923 and 1924 as a result of the French occupation of the mining area of the Ruhr; but the Dawes Agreement of 1924, the evacuation of the Ruhr, and the restoration of German industries, brought the return of depression to British mines. A commission sat during 1925 to try to find ways of restoring prosperity to the industry, but its proposals were unacceptable to the miners. The Trades Union Congress, supporting the miners, threatened a strike

[1] Chapter IX, Section 4.

of trade-unionists in every industry unless satisfactory terms were offered. In spite of counter-proposals and negotiations, on 2nd May 1926 the General Strike began. Actually, only certain sections of unionists were involved, namely, transport workers (railwaymen and others) and printers, and, of course, the miners. No sooner was the strike declared than an army of voluntary workers all over the country set out to maintain the essential transport services and food supplies. Complete good humour was maintained, even by the majority of those most severely inconvenienced by the strike; and after the first two or three days the strike had lost whatever terror it had ever had, and large numbers of the strikers drifted back to work. On 12th May the Trades Union Congress called off the General Strike. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the struggle, the method adopted was almost universally condemned. The attempt to hold up the community to ransom had ignominiously failed.

The miners continued their struggle alone, but at the end of seven months they too had to acknowledge defeat and return to work, many of them for wages that were pitifully low. Nor was this the worst result of the stoppage: many foreign markets for British coal had been lost and would never be recovered; the dislocation of industry spread to many industries allied to mining; and many areas became hopelessly derelict.

One achievement of the second Baldwin Government must be mentioned at this point, namely, that in 1928 it secured the passage of a Bill granting the franchise to women on the same terms as to men.[1] The next year there took place the first general election on a thoroughly democratic franchise.

The result of the election of 1929 was that Labour was returned as the most numerous party in the Commons though without an absolute majority. Mr. Baldwin resigned, and Mr. MacDonald became Prime Minister for

[1] Chapter II, Section 6.

a second time. A Government which cannot command an independent majority in the Commons is almost bound to be ineffective ; but this Government was doubly handicapped, for it came to power at the very moment that the world-depression was setting in. When in 1931 the full force of the economic blizzard struck England, the Government was overwhelmed : in August it resigned to make way for a National Government representing all parties.

National Government, 1931.

Mr. MacDonald remained the Prime Minister in the new Government as he had been in its predecessor. His Cabinet had only ten members instead of the usual twenty-one or twenty-two, four of them being Labour, four Conservative, and two Liberal. The Prime Minister, aware of British distrust of coalitions, emphasized that the new Government was not a coalition, in the word's normal sense, but was a Government of national co-operation to meet a national emergency and that when stability had been ensured the Government would resign and politics would resume their ordinary party-lines.

Whatever were the causes of the financial crisis—and experts differed at the time and have differed ever since as to what the cause was and even as to whether there was a real crisis at all—the Government's immediate business was to restore the nation's confidence and to balance the Budget. The latter aim was accomplished by increasing the taxation and by making cuts in all official salaries. Also, Britain went "off gold"; that is, the Bank of England was no longer compelled to sell gold at a certain fixed price. There was widespread fear that the result would be an uncontrollable fall in the value of the pound similar to the earlier fall in the value of the mark. The actual result was that the fall in the pound to about two-thirds of its former value, in accordance with the general level of prices, enabled the British manufacturer to compete on something like equal terms with the foreign

manufacturer and so gave a welcome impetus to British trade.

As soon as confidence began to return, the Government decided to hold a general election: the existing House had been elected on a party basis and on issues very different from those now facing the country. The Prime Minister put forward no detailed programme but asked only for a vote of confidence from the nation in order that he might have a free hand to introduce any measures the Cabinet might think advisable for restoring prosperity. The result of the election was a staggering victory for the National Government which secured a clear majority of no less than 425. The new Cabinet, unlike its predecessor, was normal in numbers; Mr. MacDonald remained Prime Minister, and Mr. Baldwin was his second-in-command and was responsible for the conduct of business in the Commons.

One of the first acts of the Administration was to impose tariffs in order to help to control the balance of trade with foreign countries. For some time the conviction had been growing that Britain could not afford to remain a Free Trade nation in a Protectionist world; and so Britain, which had been a Free Trade country since Gladstone's Budget of 1860, swung back, under the stress of financial emergency, to a policy of Protection. In the summer of 1932 an Imperial Conference was held in Ottawa,[1] during which Britain agreed to raise still further her tariffs on foreign imports so as to be able to grant preferences to Empire imports. The result was that several Liberal members and supporters of the Government, already disliking the revival of a policy of tariffs, crossed the House and joined the Opposition. The leader of this movement was the Home Secretary, Sir Herbert Samuel. During the next few years the Government continued steadily with its policy of restoring British finances to a condition of stability; gradually the Chancellor of the Exchequer,

[1] Chapter XIV, Section 5.

Mr. Neville Chamberlain, was able to relieve the heaviest of the taxpayers' burdens; and by his 1935 Budget the last remaining salary cuts were restored.

The year 1935 was notable also for three other events. First in May, King George V and Queen Mary celebrated the Silver Jubilee of their reign. The scenes of wild enthusiasm evidenced at the Jubilee processions, at Buckingham Palace where the King and Queen were compelled night after night to appear on the balcony, and in the poorer districts of London to which more informal and unexpected royal visits were paid, all these were proof both of the nation's loyalty to the Throne and of its deep affection for the persons of the Monarchs who for twenty-five years had unostentatiously occupied it and unselfishly carried out its ceaseless duties. Second, almost as soon as the Jubilee festivities were over, Mr. MacDonald resigned the Premiership into which Mr. Baldwin (for the third time) stepped. Third, in November a general election was held and resulted in the return of the National Government with a majority of 247 over all other parties in the Commons.

King Edward VIII, 1936.

Early in the following year the nation sustained a loss for which it was altogether unprepared. The royal family had gathered at Sandringham for the 1935 Christmas season and remained on into the new year. On 15th January, King George was riding as usual in the grounds. Two days later the nation was startled by the announcement that the King was ill and that some anxiety was felt for his condition. From that moment he grew steadily weaker; and just before midnight of 20th January his life quietly ebbed away. Next day the Prince of Wales was proclaimed King with the title of Edward VIII, the date of the Coronation being subsequently fixed for 12th May 1937.

Most of the events of outstanding importance during the remainder of the year were connected with world

politics, and have therefore been mentioned in the previous section of this chapter. At home the new King went about his royal duties in a normal way, these varying from Royal Investitures and garden parties to a tour of the poverty-stricken Rhondda Valley where he talked personally with the unemployed about their distressing conditions.

Then, on 3rd December, the nation was astounded by the news of a grave constitutional crisis provoked by the King's desire to marry an American lady who, being then married and having previously separated from another husband, was not regarded as a suitable person to become Queen. This view was shared by the Ministers of the Crown, the Dominion Governments, the Church, and—as soon became evident—by the mass of the King's subjects. The King's wish was that his marriage should take place but that his wife should be made incapable of becoming Queen-Consort. Such an incongruous position was also generally unacceptable. The choice remained with the King. On 10th December he announced his abdication, and gave expression to his decision in the following historic document:

INSTRUMENT OF ABDICATION

I, Edward the Eighth, of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Emperor of India, do hereby declare My irrevocable determination to renounce the Throne for Myself and for My descendants, and My desire that effect should be given to this Instrument of Abdication immediately.

In token whereof I have hereunto set My hand this tenth day of December, nineteen hundred and thirty-six, in the presence of the witnesses whose signatures are subscribed.

EDWARD, R.I.

SIGNED AT FORT BELVEDERE
IN THE PRESENCE OF
ALBERT
HENRY
GEORGE

The same day the Prime Minister introduced a Bill "to give effect to his Majesty's declaration of abdication";

and on 11th December the Bill, having passed through all its stages in both Houses, received the royal assent. On 11th December also, the ex-King broadcast to the world —being announced simply as "Prince Edward"—a message of allegiance to his brother the new sovereign, King George VI. Later, at Portsmouth, Prince Edward boarded a destroyer on his way to the Continent. Next day the announcement was made that Prince Edward had been created Duke of Windsor. In such difficult circumstances King George VI began his reign. His coronation took place on 12th May 1937, which had been the day appointed for the coronation of his predecessor.

6. BRITISH EMPIRE, 1919–1936

Not the least notable feature of British History during the period 1919–1936 was the changing relationship between Britain and the other members of the Empire. Something has already been said on this subject as expressed in the Imperial Conferences.[1] Here we have to review some of the more general aspects of Imperial relations.

Immediate Effects of War.

The War of 1914–1919 had placed upon the Empire a test so unprecedented that no one could have predicted with certainty what the effect would be. The ties that bound the Empire together were so nebulous that the strain to which they were subjected might well have snapped them altogether. Events were to show that the lightness of the bonds was their strength. Had the various elements of the Empire been subordinated to the Mother-country by any system of compulsion they might have helped her in the crisis but the help would have been grudging and limited. In the actual event, every part of the Empire —the great Dominions, British India, the Indian Princes,

[1] Chapter XIV, Section 5.

the small dependencies—contributed their resources of men and materials with a spontaneity which astonished friend and foe alike. This universal response was an unmistakably significant tribute to Britain's general Imperial policy.

In this response of the Empire at large there were two exceptions, the one in Ireland and the other in South Africa, where certain discontented elements seized the opportunity to raise rebellions. The Irish Easter Rising of 1916 has already been mentioned.[1] The South African trouble centred in a group of Dutch who had never reconciled themselves to being part of the British Empire. The rebellion was headed, in October 1914, by De Wet, who had been one of Kruger's generals during the second Boer War. But the Government forces were led by General Botha, who during the Boer War had been De Wet's commanding officer; and by December the rebellion was over, De Wet himself being a prisoner. His sentence of six years' imprisonment was soon cancelled and he was released.

At the close of the War, the Treaty of Versailles added to Britain's Imperial responsibility by giving to her the mandate,[2] under the League, of that portion of German East Africa which lay immediately to the south of Kenya (being now known as Tanganyika Territory), of Togoland and of the Cameroons. Also, the mandate of German South-West Africa was given to the Union of South Africa, of German North-West Guinea to Australia, and of Samoa to New Zealand.

Indirect Effects.

One indirect effect of the War was of far greater consequence than any accession of territory, namely, the changed relationship, referred to above, between the Mother-country and the rest of the Empire. Previous to the War, the foreign policy of the Empire had been deter-

[1] Chapter VI, Section 5. [2] Chapter XX, Section 2.

mined by the British Cabinet in London. By virtue of this practice, the whole Empire found itself involved in war; and, though this made no difference to the support which Britain received, ministers of the Dominions, as early as 1915, began to express their determination that the Imperial system must undergo a radical change so as to allow to the whole Empire some voice in policies which affected the whole. In December 1916, the British Government so far reciprocated this view as to invite representatives of the Dominions and of India to visit England in order to form an *Imperial War Cabinet*. Constitutionally this was more than a mere continuance of the Imperial Conferences which had been meeting at intervals since 1887[1]: it consisted of the representatives of six equal nations meeting under the chairmanship of the British Prime Minister.

At the close of hostilities, representatives of the Dominions and of India were present, along with those of Britain, at the Peace Conference. Also, each of them became a member of the League of Nations; and while the British Empire as an entity was made a permanent member of the League Council, each of the Dominions and India was a member of the Assembly. During the following years, the independence of the Dominions became increasingly evident. They began to appoint their own representatives to foreign capitals alongside the ambassadors of Britain. Also their foreign policy did not always coincide with that of the Mother-country: for example, the Dominions did not follow Britain in ratifying the Locarno Treaties.

Though it was a typically British method of procedure to allow this new Imperial situation to develop, step by step, and unplanned out of changing circumstances, the time would arrive when it would need more precise definition. Consequently, the Imperial Conference of 1926, meeting under Lord Balfour's chairmanship, after debating

[1] Chapter XIV, Section 5.

the subject of the Imperial constitution, agreed to the *Balfour Definition* drawn up in the following terms:

> [The Dominions] are autonomous Communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any respect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

A further step towards the independence of the Dominions was taken by the 1930 Conference which affirmed that the Crown, when appointing a Governor-General to a Dominion, should act upon the advice of the ministers of the Dominion concerned. Thenceforward, a Governor-General would not be the agent of the British Government but would be in exactly the same position relative to the Dominion ministers as is the Monarch relative to the British Cabinet.

This principle received more comprehensive explanation in the *Statute of Westminster* of 1931. The difficulty of finding a suitable form of words in which to define a situation hitherto vague, makes the terms of the Statute often vague and even obscure. Its main purport, however, is clear, being sufficiently indicated by the fact that it does not once mention the "British Empire" but refers instead to the "British Commonwealth of Nations". Further, the Statute stipulates that the Imperial Parliament cannot legislate for a Dominion "otherwise than at the request and with the consent of that Dominion", though this provision is expressly not to be used by the Dominion Parliament of Canada to amend the Canadian constitution so as to reduce the powers of the Canadian provinces (nor, similarly, can Australia reduce the powers of its constituent states).

The constitutional status of the Dominions was clearly illustrated at the time of King Edward VIII's abdication. At every stage of the crisis the British Premier was in continual consultation with the Dominion Governments and took no step until satisfied that it would receive their support.

Thus, so far as the Dominions are concerned, the British Empire is no longer a group of colonies subordinate to the Mother-State but is a Commonwealth of free nations. Outside this Commonwealth are the Colonies, as distinct from the Dominions, and India. Affairs connected with the Dominions are dealt with by the Dominions Secretary, an office first established in 1925, though the first Secretary was not appointed until 1930. The Colonies continue to be administered under the Colonial Secretary.

Ireland.

The position of Ireland relative to the Empire at the close of the period ending in 1936 is difficult to define. As we have seen,[1] by the agreement of December 1921 between the Sinn Fein leaders and the British Government, Ireland was recognized as being one of the six Dominions of the Empire. This agreement was, in the following year, incorporated in an Act of Parliament from the terms of which the six counties of Ulster exercised their right to contract out. Even this did not bring an end to Irish strife, for a terrible civil war ensued between the more moderate Sinn Feiners, who had accepted the Treaty, and the extremists led by Mr. de Valera. Though something like peace was restored in 1923, it was not until 1927 that the extremists, with their policy of complete Irish independence, decided to enter the parliamentary life of the Free State. The widespread support which they received quickly gave them a parliamentary majority, the result being strained relations with the British Government. The nearest approach to a definition of Ireland's constitutional position in 1936 is afforded in two Bills which Mr. de Valera introduced into the Free State Parliament at the abdication of King Edward VIII and which may be summarized as repudiating the authority of the British Crown in internal Irish affairs while associating Ireland with the British Empire in its foreign policy. The prac-

[1] Chapter VI, Section 5.

tical distinction between this position and Dominion status is incapable of definition.

India.

Reference has already been made to the 1930 Report of the Simon Commission.[1] Unfortunately the rules under which the Commission was appointed limited its attention to British India. In the course of its investigations the Commission had come to the conclusion that the scope of its enquiries had been too narrow and that no constitution could be permanent that did not take into account the relations between British India and the Indian Princes. Accordingly, a *Round Table Conference* representing the British Government, British India, and the Indian Princes met in London during 1930–33. On the basis of its recommendations the *Government of India Act* was passed in 1935. Its main provisions were that the eleven British Provinces should have self-government in internal affairs, their own Indian ministers being responsible to elected Parliaments; the rulers of Native States, while retaining certain rights within their States, should join an All-India Federation; and an All-India Federal Parliament should be established. Burma was separated from India (and was given a government of its own similar in principle to that of India).

The new constitution had hardly got into working shape when the World War broke out on 3rd September 1939. Parts of the constitution were accordingly suspended, which meant that the problems of Indian government would have to be tackled afresh when the war was over.

[1] Chapter XI, Section 4.

WHIGS LIBERALS | TORIES CONSERVATIVES. || COALITIONS. ≋

SOVEREIGN	MINISTRIES	DATES	DOMESTIC EVENTS	WARS	EVENTS ABROAD	DATES
GEORGE III	PITT	1800	Union with Ireland	REVOLUTIONARY WAR		—
		1801				—
	ADDINGTON	—			Treaty of Amiens.	1802
		—				—
		1804		NAPOLEONIC WAR.		—
	PITT	—			Battle of Trafalgar.	1805
		1806				—
	GRENVILLE	1807	Slave Trade Illegal.			—
	PORTLAND	—				—
		1809			Moore at Corunna.	1809
	PERCEVAL	—				—
		—				—
		1812			Napoleon's Russian Campaign.	1812
		—				—
		—			Battle of Vittoria	1813
		—			Congress of Vienna.	1814
		1815	Corn Law		Battle of Waterloo.	1815
		1816	Spa Fields Riot			—
		1817	Habeas Corpus Act suspended.			—
		—				—
		1819	"Peterloo": Six Acts			—
	LIVERPOOL	1820	Cato St Conspiracy			—
GEORGE IV		—			Greek revolt against Turkey.	1821
		1822	Ministry Reconstructd			—
		—				—
		1824	Combination Acts Repealed		Charles X. King of France.	1824
		—			Nicholas I. Czar of Russia	1825
		—				—
	CANNING	1827			Battle of Navarino	1827
	GODERICH	1828	Clare Election			—
	WELLINGTON	1829	Catholic Emancipd		Treaty of Adrianople	1829
		1830	Reform Bill introducd		Louis Philippe, King of France	1830
WM. IV	GREY	—				—
		1832	Reform Bill passed.			—

SOVEREIGN	MINISTRIES	DATES	DOMESTIC EVENTS	WARS	EVENTS ABROAD	DATES
WILLIAM IV		1832	Reform Bill passed			—
	GREY	1833	Slavery, Factory & Education Acts.		Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi	1833
	MELBOURNE	1834	Poor Law Act.			—
	PEEL	1835	Municipal Corporation Act.			—
		—				—
		1837			Canadian Rebellion	1837
VICTORIA	MELBOURNE	1838	Chartism & Anti-Corn-Law League.			—
		—			(Durham's Report)	1839
		1840	Penny Postage		(Canada Act: Waitangi Treaty)	1840
		1841				—
	PEEL	1842	Mines Act.			—
		—				—
		1844	Factory Act.			—
		1845	Irish Famine.			—
		1846	Corn Laws Repeal'd			—
		1847	Mines Act.			—
	RUSSELL	1848	Chartist Riots.		The Year of Revolutions	1848
		—				—
		—				—
		1851	Great Exhibition			—
	DERBY	1852			Napoleon III Emp^{r} of the French.	1852
	ABERDEEN	—				—
		—		Crimean War	Balaclava and Inkerman	1854
	PALMERSTON.	1855			Sabastopol Falls	1855
		—			Peace of Paris.	1856
		—			Indian Mutiny.	1857
	DERBY	1858	Fenian Movement organized.		(Derby's India Act.)	1858
		1859	Darwin's "Origin of Species."		War of Italian Liberation	1859
		1860	Commercial Treaty with France.			1860
		—			William I. King of Prussia	1861
	PALMERSTON.	—			Bismarck. Chancell^{r} of Prussia.	1862
		—			Schleswig-Holstein	1863
		—				—
		1865			End of American Civil War	1865
	RUSSELL	1866	Fenians invade Canada.		Austro-Prussian war.	1866
	DERBY DISRAELI	1867	2nd Reform Act.		(British N America Act)	1867

SOVEREIGN	MINISTRIES	DATES	DOMESTIC EVENTS	WARS	EVENTS ABROAD	DATES
VICTORIA	DERBY DISRAELI	1867	2nd Reform Act		(Brit. N. America Act)	1867
		1868				—
	GLADSTONE	1869	Irish Church Disestablished		Suez Canal opened	1869
		1870	Forster's Educn Act.		Franco-Prussian War.	1870
		1871	Trade Union Act.		German Empire proclaimed.	1871
		—			"Alabama" Arbitratn	1872
		—				—
		1874				—
	DISRAELI	—				—
		1876	Trade Union Act.		Bulgarian Atrocities	1876
		—				—
		—			Congress of Berlin	1878
		—				—
		1880		← 1st BOER WAR		1880
	GLADSTONE	1881	2nd Irish Land Act		Majuba Hill,	1881
		1882	Phoenix Park Murders.			—
		—				—
		1884	3rd Reform Act.			—
		1885			Gordon dies at Kharfoum.	1885
	SALISBURY					
	GLADSTONE	1886	1st Home Rule Bill.		Canadian Pacific Ry	1886
		—				—
	SALISBURY	1888	Local Govt Act.		William II Emperor of Germany	1888
		—			Br. S. Africa Co's Charter.	1889
		—			Bismarck Falls.	1890
		—				—
		1892				—
	GLADSTONE	1893	2nd Home Rule Bill.			—
	ROSEBERY	1894				—
	SALISBURY	1895			Jameson Raid.	1895

SOVEREIGN	MINISTRIES	DATES	DOMESTIC EVENTS,	WARS	EVENTS ABROAD.	DATES
VICTORIA	ROSEBERY	1895			Jameson Raid	1895
		—				—
		—				—
	SALISBURY	—			Omdurman:	
		—			Fashoda	1898
		—			1st Hague Peace Conference.	1899
		—		2nd BOER WAR	Boxer Rising-China	1900
		1901			Australian Commonwealth	1901
EDWARD VII		1902	Education Act,		Peace of Vereeniging	1902
	BALFOUR	—				—
		—			"Entente Cordiale"	1904
		—				—
	CAMPBELL BANNER-MAN	1906	Labour Party Formed		Algeciras Conf^{ce}	1906
		1907	Territorial Force Organized.		Responsible Govt. in South Africa	1907
		1908	Old Age Pensions Act.		2nd Hague Peace Conference	1908
		1909	Lords reject Budget.		(Morley-Minto Indian Reforms)	1909
		1910	Two Elections			—
GEORGE V	ASQUITH	1911	Parliament Act.		Agadir Crisis..	1911
		1912	3rd Home Rule Bill.		1st Balkan War.	1912
		—			2nd Balkan War.	1913
		—			Murder at Serajevo	1914
		—		GT: EUROPEAN WAR	Dardanelles Exped^{n}	1915
		1916	Sinn Fein Rebellion.		Battle of Jutland	1916
		—			U S A declares War. Russian Rev^{n}.	1917
	LLOYD GEORGE	1918	4th Reform Act.		Allied offensive.	1918
		—			Treaty of Versailles	1919
		—			1st Assembly of League of Nations.	1920
		1921	Irish Free State Established.		Washington Conf^{ce} to limit Navies.	1921

CONSERVATIVES || LABOUR ▮ COALITION ▮

SOVEREIGN	MINISTRIES	DATES	DOMESTIC EVENTS	EVENTS ABROAD	DATES
GEORGE V	BONAR LAW	1922		Mussolini in power	1922
	BALDWIN	1923			—
	MACDONALD	1924		Dawes Committee	1924
	BALDWIN	—		Locarno	1925
		1926	General Strike		—
		—			—
		1928	Universal Suffrage		—
		1929			—
	MACDONALD	—			—
		1931		Japanese in Manchuria	1931
	NATIONAL GOVT: MAC-DONALD	1932	Ottawa Conference	Disarmament Conference	1932
		—		Hitler Chancellor	1933
		—			—
		1935	Jubilee	Italy invades Abyssinia	1935
ED. VIII	BALDWIN	—		Spanish Revn:	1936
GEO VI					

INDEX

Names of Battles, Statutes, Treaties and Wars are arranged under those headings respectively.

A

ABDUR RAHMAN, 201
Aberdeen, Lord, Premier, 291; Crimean War, 291–5
Abyssinia, Italian Occupation, 388
Afghanistan, First War in, 189; Second War, 92, 200
Africa, exploration and partition, 319–33
Agadir Crisis, 340
Alabama, The, 310
Albert, Prince Consort, 61; death, 88; Great Exhibition, 180
Alexander I, Czar, Holy Alliance, 265; death, 274
Alexander II, accession, 296
Algeciras Conference, 340
Alsace-Lorraine, to France, 263, 265; to Germany, 270; to France (1919), 371
"Apprentice" Children, 41; system abolished, 44
Arabi Pasha, 326
Ashley, Lord, *see* Shaftesbury, Earl of
Asquith, H. H. (Lord), Chancellor of Exchequer, 152; Premier, 153, 162
Auckland, Lord, 188
Australia, 221–32

B

BALDWIN, Premier, 165; second Administration, 391; third Administration, 394
Balfour, Arthur James (Lord), Education Act, 50; Tariff policy, 82, 152; Secretary for Ireland, 101, 119
Balfour Definition, 398, 399
Bank of England, 71
Baring, Capt. Evelyn, *see* Cromer, Lord
BATTLES:
  Alma, 293
  Balaclava, 293
  Colenso, 253
  Dogger Bank, 356
  Falklands, 356
  Inkerman, 295
  Isandhlwana, 246
  Jutland, 357
  Magersfontein, 253
  Majuba Hill, 246
  Marne, 347
  Mons, 347
  Navarino, 275, 285
  Omdurman, 332
  Paardeberg, 254
  Sedan, 274
  Somme, 354
  Stormberg, 253
  Tel-el-Kebir, 327
  Ulundi, 246
  Verdun, 354
Beaconsfield, Earl of, 92; *see* Disraeli, Benjamin
Bedchamber Question, 61
Belgium, joined to Holland, 263; independent, 278
Bell, Andrew, 47
Bentham, Jeremy, 11
Bentinck, Lord George, Tory leader, 85
Bentinck, Lord William, 187
Berlin, Congress of (1878), 91, 298, 334, 342; Conference of (1884), 323, 332
Bismarck, diplomacy, 267–70; resigned, 317
Boers, origin, 238
Bolsheviks, 360
Boroughs, "Rotten" and "Pocket," 23
Bosnia, administered by Austria, 300, 301, 342; Great War, 344
Botha, Boer general, 255; S. African Premier, 258; Great War, 359; suppresses South African Rebellion (1914), 397

Boxer Rising, 317
" Boycott ", 116
Bright, John, Anti-Corn-Law League, 73; President of Board of Trade, 94; and Home Rule, 118
Bulgaria, " Atrocities ", 101, 298
Buller, Charles, Colonization Society, 207; in Canada, 213
Burma, first War, 186; annexed, 191; separated from India, 401
Burns, John, in Dockers' Strike, 137; President of Local Government Board, 139, 152
Byron, Lord, death at Missolonghi, 284

C

CABINET Government, 1
Campbell-Bannerman, Sir Henry, Premier, 139, 152; death, 152
Canada, 206–20
Canning, George, Foreign Secretary, 14, 271, 273–5; War of Greek Independence, 284–5
Canning, Lord, in India, 192, 198
Cape of Good Hope, settled, 237; becomes British, 238
Cardwell, Edward, War Minister, 94; Army Reforms, 96
Caroline, Queen, her " affair ", 13, 14
Carson, Sir Edward (Lord), Ulster leader, 123
Casement, Sir Roger, Irish rebel leader, 124
Castlereagh, Lord, 8; death, 14; Foreign Secretary, 8, 271–3
Cato Street Conspiracy, 13
Cavendish, Lord Frederick, Irish Secretary, murdered, 117
Cavour, Count, 304
Cetewayo, 246
Chamberlain, Joseph, fiscal policy, 79–82, 151, 259; Home Rule, 118; S. Africa, 252
Chamberlain, Neville, Chancellor of Exchequer, 394
Charles X, of France, 266
Chartist Movement, 29–33
Chelmsford, Lord, 203
China, 312–18
Churchill, Winston, President of Board of Trade, 153
Civil Service, Gladstone's reforms, 95
Clare Election, 18
Clemenceau, at Peace Conference, 368
" Closure ", The, 116
Cobbett, William, 10
Cobden, Richard, Anti-Corn-Law League, 73; Treaty with France, 77, 78
Colonization Society, 207, 227
Concert of Europe, 272
Congo, 322
Cook, Captain James, 222
Corn Laws, League, 73
Cromer, Lord, Egypt, 326
Cross, Richard, Home Secretary, 90

D

DALHOUSIE, Lord, 190
Dardanelles, Campaign (1915), 350
Darwin, Charles, 169–71
Davitt, Michael, founder of Land League, 116
Dawes Committee, 381, 382
Delcassé, 337, 338
Derby, Lord, Prime Minister, 88
Dickens, Charles, 167
Dingaan, 243
Disarmament, 382; Locarno Treaties, 382, 383; Conference, 383, 386, 387
Disestablishment of Church, Irish, 111; Welsh, 162
Disraeli, Benjamin, 75, 76; career summarized, 83–92; Congress of Berlin, 299

Dockers' Strike (1889), 137
Dorchester Labourers, 133
" Dreadnought " warships, 157
D'Urban, Sir Benjamin, 240
Durham, Lord, Colonization Society, 207; in Canada, 213–14
Dyarchy, Indian, 203

E

Eastern Question, 274, 280–301, 342–5, 374
East India Company, under Pitt's Act, 185; Charter revised, 1833, 187, 313
Education, 47–51; Board, established, 50; Bills (1906, 1908), 158
Edward VII, of Britain, *Entente*, 338
Edward VIII, accession, 394; abdication, 395
Egypt, 324–33
Eldon, Lord, 8
Elgin, Lord, in Canada, 215
Emancipation, Roman Catholic, 16, 57; Slave, 36–40
Empire, " First " and " Second ", of Britain, 206; modern development, 258
Entente, 337
Evangelical Churchmen and social reform, 36, 42, 172
Exhibition, The Great (1851), 179

F

Factories, conditions and legislation, 40–6
Fascist movement in Italy, 379
Fashoda, 332
Fenians, 109
Forster, Education Act, 49
Fourteen Points, 365
Francis I, of Austria, 265
Franco, General Francisco, 389
Frederick William III, of Prussia, 265
Free Trade, Chapter IV, 62–82
French, Sir John (Lord), S. Africa, 254; Great War, 347, 353
Friendly Societies, and Trade-Unions, 134

G

Gallipoli, Campaign (1915), 350
Gandhi, 294
Garibaldi, Giuseppe, 304
George III, 6, 8
George IV, accession, 8; death, 20
George V, accession, 161; Jubilee, 394; death, 394
George, Lloyd, President of Board of Trade, 152; Chancellor of Exchequer, 153; Budget, 1909, 159; Premier, 163, 355; at Peace Conference, 164, 367, 368; Minister of Munitions, 353
Germany, member of League of Nations, 383; rise of National Socialism, 385, 386; withdraws from League, 387
Gladstone, W. E., President of Board of Trade, 70; Chancellor of Exchequer, 77; Budgets, 77–9; Post Office Bank, 79; career summarized, 92–102; Irish policy, 111–21; death, 121; S. Africa, 246; Bulgarian atrocities, 298; *Alabama*, 311; Soudan, 329–31
Gladstone, Lord, Governor-General of S. Africa, 257
Gordon, Charles, General, China, 316; Soudan, 328–31
Grey, Lord, Ministry, 1830, 21
Grey, Sir Edward, Foreign Secretary, 152; Great War, 345
Grey, Sir George, South Australia, 228; New Zealand, 235, 236; S. Africa, 245
" Guillotine ", The, 116

H

Hague Conferences, 339
Haig, Sir Douglas (Lord), 353
Haldane, R. B. (Lord), Minister for War, 152; forms Territorial Army, 156
Hanover, independent of Britain, 59
Hardie, Keir, Labour leader, 138
Hastings, Lord, 185
Health, Ministry of, formation, 147
Hill, Rowland, 179
Hitler, Adolf, Chancellor and President of Germany, 385, 386; effect on disarmament, 387
Holy Alliance, formed, 265; influence, 266; British attitude, 272; end of, 274
Hudson's Bay Company, 218
Humanitarianism, 36, 37
Hume, Joseph, repeal of Combination Acts, 128
Hunt, Henry, 9; at Peterloo Riot, 12
Huskisson, William, President of Board of Trade, 14, 66; death, 21, 69; customs reforms, 67–70; repeal of Combination Acts, 129

I

Imperial Conferences, 398, 399
Income Tax, imposed by Pitt, 67; repealed, 67; imposed by Peel, 71; Gladstone, 77–9
India, 182–205; Mutiny, 193; Victoria, Empress of, 91; Simon Report, 401; Round Table Conference, 401; India Act, 1935, 401
Industrial Revolution, results, 2
Ireland, O'Connell, 18; 106–7; Potato Famine, 74, 108; Home Rule Bill, (1886) 80, 117, (1893) 121, (1912) 122; history, 103–25; O'Brienites, 109; Fenians, 109; Church disestablished, 111; Land Act (1870), 113; (1881) 116; Parnell, 115; Phœnix Park murder, 117; Free State established, 125; Easter Rising, (1916) 397; Sinn Fein Government, 400
Ismail Pasha, 324–6
Italy, Unification of, 302–6

J

Jameson, Dr. Starr, in Rhodesia, 249; Raid, 251
Japan, invades Manchuria, 386
Jenner, Dr. Edward, 181

K

Keble, John, 173
Kingsley, Charles, 175
Kitchener, Sir Herbert (Lord), S. Africa, 254; Egypt, 331–3; Great War, 347
Kruger, Paul, Uitlanders, 250–2; death, 255

L

Labour Party, its history, 138–40
Laibach, Congress of, 272
Laissez-faire, Free Trade, 65; Trade-Unions, 128
Lanark, New, Robert Owen's mill, 130
Lancaster, Joseph, 48
Land League, Irish, founded, 116
League of Nations, 366, 375–8; Germany, a member, 383; Germany withdraws, 387; reasons for failure in Abyssinian dispute, 388; membership of British Dominions, 398
Lenin, 383, 384
Lichfield House Compact, 106
Lincoln, Abraham, 308
Lister, Lord, 181
Liverpool, Lord, 8

Livingstone, David, 320–2
Local Government, 141–9
London, university, 51 ; County Council, 145
Lords, House of, rejects Liberal Bills, 157–60 ; Parliament Act, 160
Louis XVIII, of France, 266
Louis Napoleon, *see* Napoleon III
Louis Philippe, 267
Lovett, William, 30–2
Lusitania, 354, 357
Lyell, Sir Charles, 170

M

Macaulay, Lord, Indian policy, 187
MacDonald, J. Ramsay, Labour Leader, 138 ; Prime Minister, 140, 165 ; second Administration, 391 ; National Government, 392 ; resigned, 394
Mahdi, 327–32
Manchukuo, Republic of created, 386
Manchuria, invaded by Japanese, 386
Mandated Territory, 371, 372, 374
Mann, Tom, in Dockers' Strike, 137
Maoris, 233–6
Marx, Karl, 136
Maurice, Frederick D., 175
Mazzini, Joseph, 303
Mehemet Ali, War of Greek Independence, 284 ; Syria, 286–8 ; death, 324
Melbourne, Lord, Home Secretary, 21 ; Ministries, (1834) 57, (1835–41) 59
Mercantile Theory, 63
Metternich, 265 ; overthrown, 268
Milner, Sir Alfred (Lord), S. Africa, 252, 256
Mines, conditions and legislation, 45
Minto, Lord, 202
Montagu, Edwin S., 203
Morley, John (Lord), Secretary for Ireland, 152 ; Indian reforms, 202
Mussolini, Benito, Leads the Fascist Movement, 379, 380 ; announces annexation of Abyssinia, 388

N

Napoleon III (Louis Napoleon), 267–70 ; Crimean War, 289 ; Italian Liberation, 304
Natal, 243
National Government, 392–4
National Socialism in Germany, 385, 386
Naval Conference, London, 389, 390 ; Washington, 381, 389
Newfoundland, 219
Newman, John Henry, 173
New Zealand, 222, 233–6
Nicholas I, Czar, and Mehemet Ali, 286 ; Crimean War, 289 ; death, 296
Nicholas II, Czar, Hague Conferences, 339
Nightingale, Florence, 295
North German Confederation, 269

O

O'Brien, Smith, Irish leader, 109
O'Connell, Daniel, Clare Election, 18, 104 ; in Commons, 106 ; death, 107
O'Connor, Feargus, Chartist, 30–3
Old Sarum, 23
Opium, Trade and Wars, 312–18
Orange Free State, founded, 242 ; becomes O.R. Sovereignty, and regains independence, 244 ; annexed, 255

Osborne Case, 139
Ottawa Conference, 259
Owen, Robert, 130–3
Oxford Movement, 172

P

PALMERSTON, Viscount, Foreign Secretary, 21; Afghan policy, 188; career and foreign policy, 275–9, 285; London Conference (1840), 287; Crimean War, 291, 295–8; Italian Unity, 305; China, 314
Park, Mungo, 320
Parliament, pre-Reform condition, 1, 2, 22; procedure, 25
Parnell, Charles Stuart, 115–20
Peel, Sir Robert, Home Secretary, 14; reforms Criminal Code, 15, 224; police system, 16; Ministry, 1834–5, 57; Bedchamber Question, 61; Ministry, 1841–6, 61, 70–6; Budgets, 71; Corn Law Repeal, 75; Irish policy, 107
Peterloo Riot, 12
Phœnix Park, murders, 117
Pigott, Richard, trial, 119
Place, Francis, 9; Working Men's Association, 30; repeal of Combination Acts, 128, 207
Plimsoll, Samuel, secures shipping reform, 90
Police, 16
Political Register, Cobbett's, 10
Post, penny, 179
Preference, colonial, Huskisson's, 68
Protection, 62
Pusey, Edward, 173

R

RADICALS, 9
Railways, 177
Redcliffe, Lord Stratford de, 291
Redmond, John, 124
Regency, 1811–20, 6
Reparations, effect on Germany, 381; Dawes Committee, 381, 382
Rhodes, Cecil, 247–52, 256
Rhodesia, formation, 249
Riots, for Parliamentary Reform, 11, 26
Roberts, Sir Frederick (Lord), in Afghanistan, 201; in S. Africa, 254
Rosebery, Lord, Premier, 102, 121
Round Table Conference (Indian), 401
Ruhr Valley, French Occupation, 381; effect on British mining, 390
Ruskin, John, 168
Russell, Lord John, Test Acts, 16; and Reform Bill, 26; Prime Minister, (1846) 76, (1865) 93; created Earl Russell, 93; Italian Unity, 305
Russia, Soviet system, 383, 384; member of League of Nations, 384

S

SALISBURY, Lord, Prime Minister, (1885, 1886) 100, 117, 118, (1895) 102; Congress of Berlin, 299
Schleswig-Holstein, 269
Serajevo, 344
Shaftesbury, Seventh Earl of, factories, mines, chimney-sweeps, 41–7, 172
Shah Shujah, 188
Sidmouth, Lord, 8, 14
Simon Commission, 204; Report, 401
Simpson, Sir James, 181
Sinn Fein, 124
Slavery, Abolition, 36–40; effect in S. Africa, 240
Smith, Adam, 62–5

Smuts, Boer general, 255; Great War, 359; Peace policy, 371, 375
Socialism, of Karl Marx, 136; of twentieth century, 150
Soudan, 327–33
South Africa, 237–60; Company, 249; constitutional development, 256; rebellion, 397
Soviets, 360, 383
Spain, revolution, 388, 389
Speenhamland, poor-relief system, 52
Stalin, 384
Stanley, H. M., 321, 322
STATUTES:
Artisans' Dwellings, 90
Ballot, 98
Bank Charter, 71
Canada, 211, 212
Reunion, 215
British N. America, 217
Catholic Relief, 19
Children's, 155
Climbing Boys, 46
Coercion (Irish), (1833) 106, (1870, 1871) 114, (1882) 117, (Balfour's) 119
Combination, 2, 3, 10, 127; repealed, 129, (1825) 130
Corn Laws, 4, 20, 67; Sliding Scale, 68–9; repealed, 75
Criminal Code, 14
Criminal Law Amendment, 135
Currency, 71
Disestablishment of Church, Irish, 111; Welsh, 162
Education, 49–51
Encumbered Estates, 108
Factory, (1802) 42, (1833, 1844, 1847) 44, 70, (1878) 91
Friendly Societies, 134
Home Rule, Irish, 123
India: Pitt's, 185, 199
Derby's, 199
Government of (1919), 203
Government of (1935), 401
STATUTES:
Insurance, 154, 155
Irish Union, 18, 104
Labour Exchanges, 154
Land, Irish, (1870) 113, (1881) 116
Local Government, 54, (1888, 1894) 144–5, (1929) 148
Mines, 45
Municipal Corporation, 141–4
Navigation, 64; modified, 67
Old Age Pensions, 154
Parliament (1911), 122, 160
Plimsoll Line, 90
Poor Law, 29, 30, 51–5
Reform, (1832) 4, 25–9, (1867) 33, 89, (1884, 1885) 34, (1918) 34, (1928) 35
Regency, 6
Six Acts, 13
Slavery, 38
Slave Trade, 37
South African Union, 257
Territorial Forces, 156
Test Acts repealed, 16
Trades Disputes, 139
Trade-Union, 135
Westminster, 399
Workmen's Compensation, 154
Stephenson, George, 177
Stresemann, proposes security agreement, 382
Strike, General (1926), 390
Suez Canal, constructed, 324; Disraeli buys shares, 91, 325
Suttee, 187

T

TAFF VALE Railway Strike, 139
Tamworth Manifesto, 58, 86
Tariff Reform, Chamberlain's policy, 81; effect on Conservative party, 151; under Baldwin, 165
Territorial Army, [illegible], 156
Tillett, [illegible] Dockers' Strike, [illegible]
Tithe War, Irish, 106

Tolpuddle Martyrs, 133
Tractarians, 172
Trade-Unions, 126–40
Transvaal, founded, 242; independent, 246; annexed, 255
TREATIES:
Adrianople (1829), 285
Berlin, 300
Bloemfontein Convention, 244
Brest-Litovsk, 360
Bucharest, 344
Frankfurt, 270
Kutchuk-Kainardji, 281
Lateran, 306
Lausanne, 373
Locarno, 382, 383; repudiated by Germany, 387
London, (1827) 284, (1840) 287
London Naval (1936) 390
Nanking, 314
Oregon, 216
Paris, (1763) 210, (1856) 297
Pretoria Convention, 246
St. Germain, 372
Sand River Convention, 243
San Stephano, 299
Sèvres, 373
Straits Convention (1841), 288
Tientsin, 315
Trianon, 372
Unkiar-Skelessi, 188, 287
Vereeniging, 255
Versailles, (1783) 211, (1919) 369–72; effects on Germany, 385, 386
Waitangi, 234
Washington Naval, 381, 389
Trek, Boer, 39, 240
Trent, The, 309
Triple Alliance (1882), 334
Troppau, Congress, 272
Turkey, position in Europe, 280

U

UITLANDERS, 250
Unionists, party formed, 80, 100; alliance with Conservatives, 122
United States of America, formation, 211; boundary agreements, 216; trade boom, 1921–1929, 384–5

V

VALERA, EAMON DE, 400
Verona, Congress of, 273
Versailles, Conference of (1919), 367
Victor Emmanuel II, of Italy, 304
Victoria, Queen, accession, 59; marriage, 61; death of Prince Albert, 88; relations with Disraeli, 88; with Gladstone, 94; Empress of India, 91, 200; death, 102
Vienna, Congress of, 5, 261

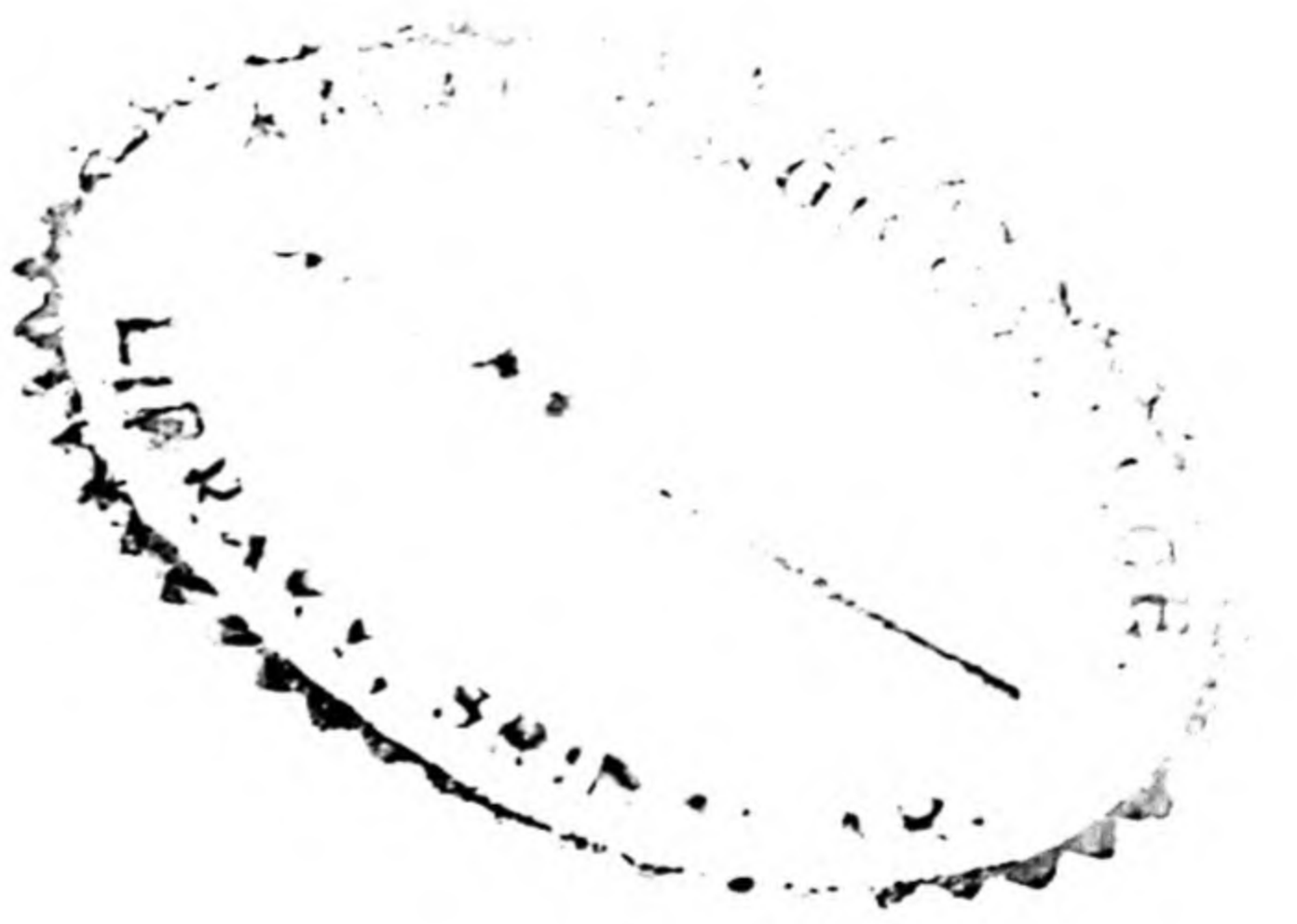
W

WAKEFIELD, EDWARD GIBBON, 206, 227; in Canada, 213; New Zealand, 234
Wallace, Alfred Russel, 170
WARS:
Afghan (1st), 188; (2nd), 92, 200
American Civil, 306–12
Austro-Prussian (Seven Weeks'), 269
Burmese, 186
Balkan (1912, 1913), 342
Crimean, 288–96
Franco-Prussian, 270, 306
Great European (1914–18), 334–64
Greek Independence, 274, 283–6
Italian Liberation, 304
Mahratta (1817), 186
Maori, 236
Russo-Turkish, (1829) 285, (1877) 299
Seven Weeks' (Austro-Prussian), 269
Seven Years', 206, 210
Wealth of Nations, 64
Wellesley, Lord, 185

Wellington, Duke of, Ministry, 1828–30, 16–21; and Reform Bill, 26, 27; foreign policy, 272, 273, 275, 285; death, 294
Wilberforce, William, abolition of slavery, 36–40, 172
William I, of Prussia, 268
William II, Kaiser, telegram to Kruger, 252; character, 336–7; Morocco, 340–2; abdicates, 364
William IV, accession, 20; death, 59
Wilson, President Woodrow, Fourteen Points, 365; Peace policy, 367, 375
Windsor, Duke of, 396
Wolseley, Sir Garnet (Lord), Egypt, 327, 330

Y

Ypres, 348, 353

Z

Zeebrugge, 358
Zollverein, 268